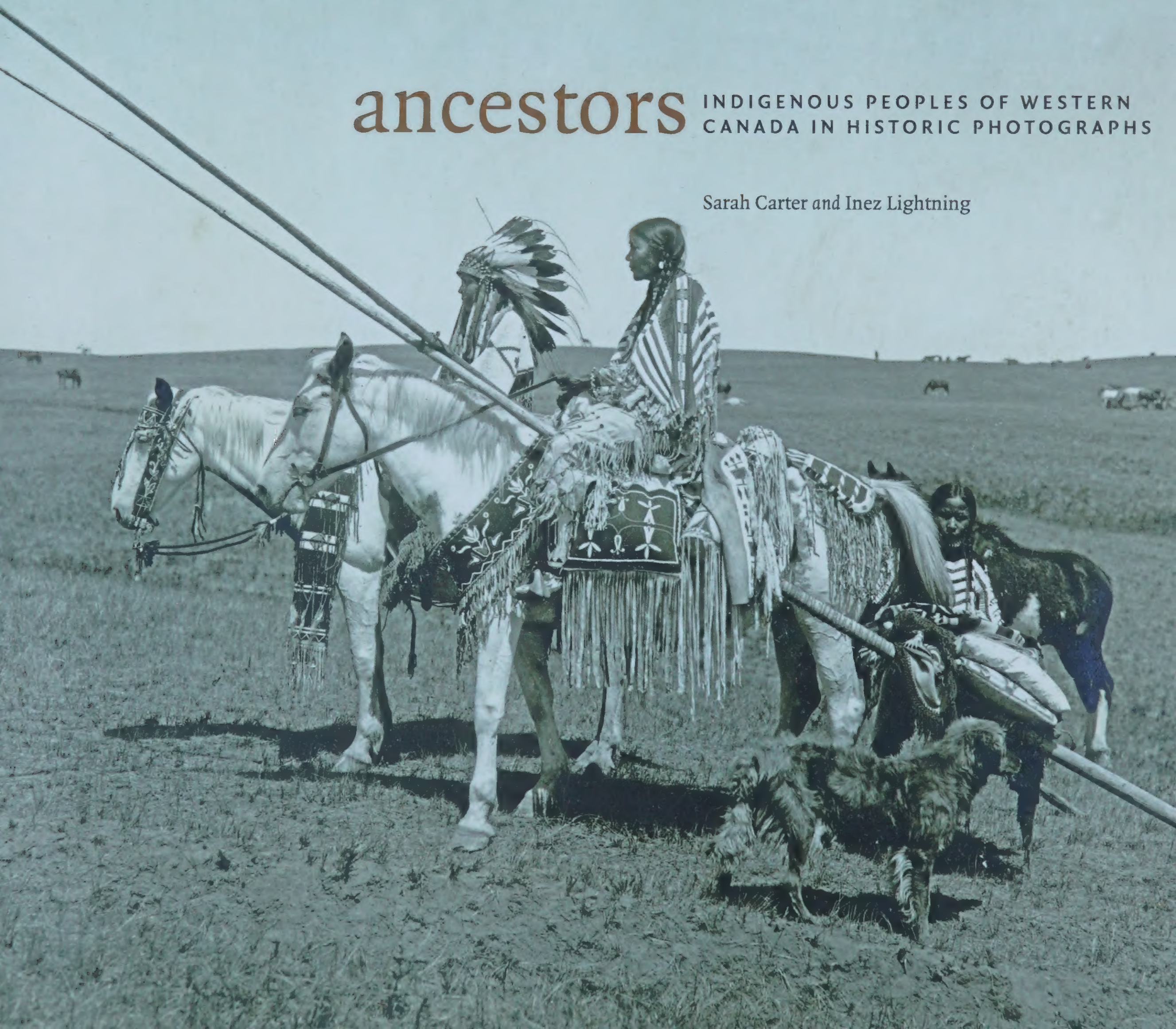
ancestors

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF WESTERN CANADA IN HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHS

Sarah Carter *and* Inez Lightning



curators

SARAH CARTER, FRSC, is Professor and Henry Marshall Tory Chair in the Department of History and Classics and in the Faculty of Native Studies at the University of Alberta. From Saskatoon, she studied Canadian history at the University of Saskatchewan (BA Hon and MA) and the University of Manitoba (PhD). She taught at the University of Calgary from 1992 to 2006. Her research focuses on the history of settler colonialism in Canada and on comparative colonial and borderlands perspectives. Her 2016 book *Imperial Plots: Women, Land, and the Spadework of British Colonialism on the Canadian Prairies* won the Governor General's History Award for Scholarly Research. Her book *Ours by Every Law of Right and Justice: Women and the Vote in the Prairie Provinces* was published in 2020 with the University of British Columbia Press. In 2020, she was awarded the Killam Prize in the Humanities.

INEZ LIGHTNING Osaw Piyesis Iskwew niya Anishinaabekwe. Wapamaskwa nicewakan. Paskwamostoosis awasis ekta ohcit. Maskwacis winowak nicaysinowak.

My name is Yellow Bird Woman and I am Anishinaabe. White Bear is my husband. I am from the Buffalo Child family. I am of the Bearhills people.

Inez attained her BA in history in 1994. She worked during the late 1990s with the Canadian Image Project, Canadian Museums Association, on research regarding the agricultural history at Maskwacis, Alberta which culminated in an exhibit at the Provincial Archives of Alberta. She is currently studying for her MA at the University of Alberta, under the supervision of Sarah Carter. She has been involved with the Indigenous Graduate Students Association, the History and Classics Truth and Reconciliation Committee (HCTRC), and the TRC Calls to Action Committee, History and Classics. She has enjoyed the research for this project, particularly discussions with the Knowledge Keepers.

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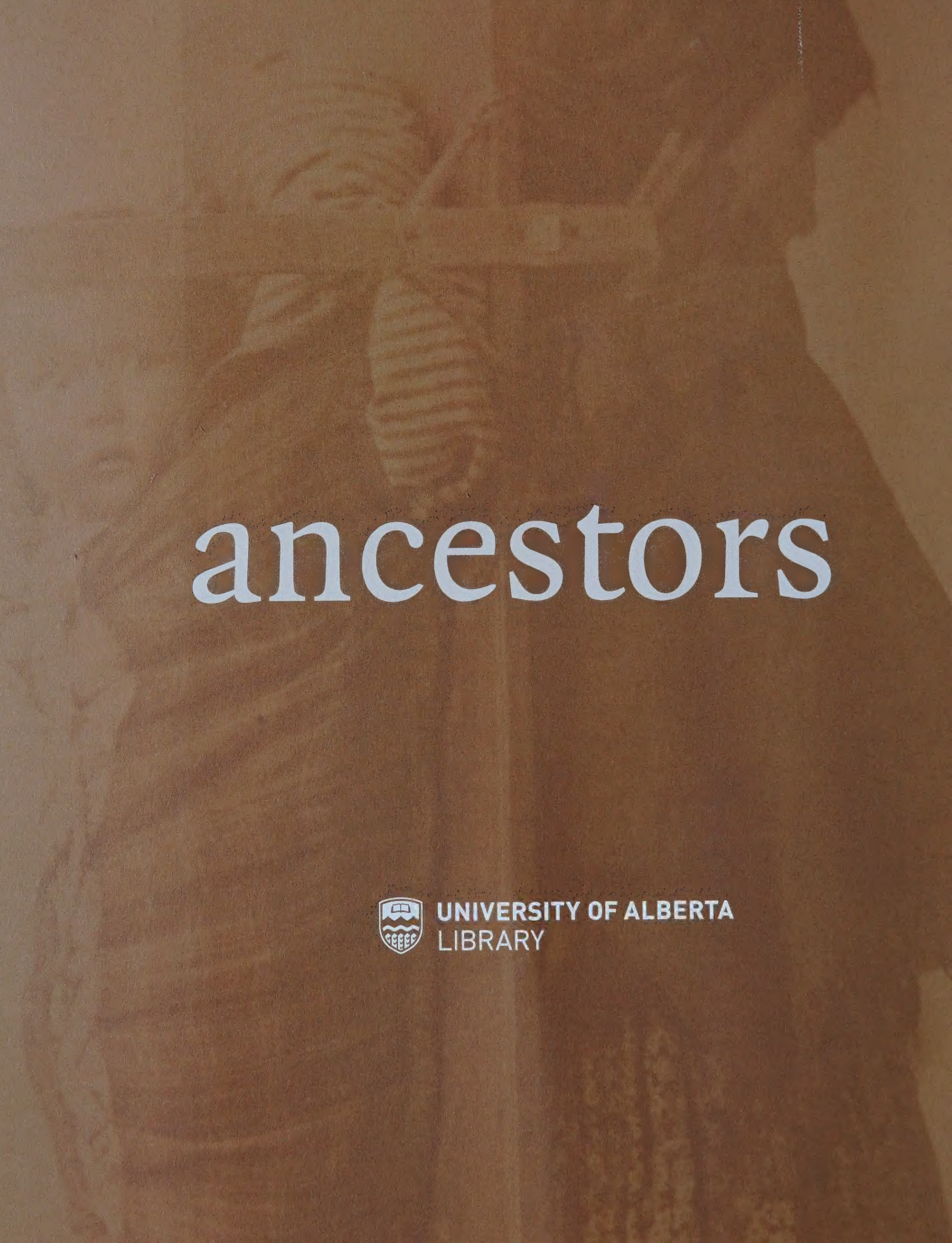

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Sarah Carter *and* Inez Lightning

Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta

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Cultural Institution (CI) Notice

OPEN TO COLLABORATE Bruce Peel Special Collections is committed to the development of new modes of collaboration, engagement, and partnership for the care and stewardship of past and future heritage collections.

Learn more about the Indigenous Photograph Collection and link to the digital collection in the Internet Archive by visiting the Peel website (https://bpsc.library.ualberta.ca/collections). We invite you to explore the potential of these pictures to generate stories and knowledge. When exploring the digital collection through the Internet Archive, you may notice that we welcome names and other information to improve the records relating to these photographs. If you have information to contribute, please note that there are options for contributors outlined below each digital photograph and we are happy to provide assistance.

foreword

WHEN I WAS A COMMISSIONER on Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, two very important questions were raised during our public hearings: what was of value that you lost and how are you going to keep the memory alive? This outstanding ancestral pictorial gift presents memorable responses; it is a must read. It is about how our wisdom keepers lived in beautiful, rich, and diverse cultures in very challenging ways and times. Through the power of photography, we learn how Indigenous Peoples, Tribes, and Nations in Western Treaty Territories, loved our children as sacred bundles through language, song, and ceremony. Our Ancestors' pride and resilience provide a wealth of information about relationships for students of all ages. The importance of the spiritual connection to our mother, the earth, and to the horse spirit, are key relationships for us. In reading this historical documentation, go beyond the words: study and feel the stories; as you view the pictures, hear the historical legends; listen to the ti-pi teachings. I believe you will find these historic photographs of our Ancestors to be healing, and thank you to everyone for keeping the story alive and advancing reconciliation. Hai Hai. Thank you.

Chief Willie Littlechild IPC, QC
Member of the Order of Canada,
The Order of Sport, and Canada's Sports Hall of Fame

acknowledgements

SARAH CARTER WAS INVITED BY ROBERT DESMARAIS, Head of Special Collections, Bruce Peel Special Collections to prepare an exhibition and accompanying catalogue of historic photographs of Indigenous peoples of Western Canada acquired with support from the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund established by former Chancellor of the University of Alberta Ralph B. Young and his late wife Gay. Carter invited Inez Lightning, graduate student in the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta, to co-curate the exhibition and co-author the catalogue. Together they decided that the exhibition and catalogue would be called "Ancestors" and would focus on the stories, histories, and meanings that the photographs contain for the present day. As Josephine Buffalo, Samson Cree Nation Elder has stated, "everything is a story, why it's a symbol." Everything created in nature or made by human hands has a story, including the story of the person(s) who made it; and these stories become intertwined with symbols.[1] Allan Wolfleg, Siksika Elder commented in the same vein: "symbols, rituals, and ceremonies all come together."[2] Photographs represent more than moments frozen in time; they carry stories and legacies into the future.

These are insights and perspectives provided by Elders and keepers of traditional knowledge. Elder Allan Wolfleg referred to himself as a "depositor" of traditional knowledge, and, as such, he has learned to look beyond what first meets the eye.[3] We would like to thank the following "depositors" of Indigenous traditional knowledge who have collaborated and shared in this photographic exhibition: Josephine Buffalo, Samson Cree Nation; Judy Half, Saddle Lake Cree Nation; Rick Lightning, Ermineskin Cree Nation; Jacob Lightning, Samson Cree Nation; Marvin Littlechild, Ermineskin Cree Nation; Ramona Lowhorn, Siksika Nation; Mike (Thomas) Meguinis, Tsuut'ina Nation; Beatrice Morin, Maskekosihk (Enoch Cree

Nation); Tom Snow and William (Bill) Snow, Stoney Nakoda Nation; and Allan Wolfleg, Siksika Nation.

University of Alberta Library staff were instrumental in the planning and cataloguing details required for this photographic exhibition. The staff provided as much knowledge as possible about the photographs selected from the Photographs of Indigenous Peoples in Western Canada collection. We would like to thank Robert Desmarais; Linda Quirk, Librarian, Bruce Peel Special Collections; and all of the Peel staff who have gone above and beyond to ensure a successful exhibition: Indigenous interns, Leigha Rind and Gabrielle Lamontagne; history of photography experts, Andrea Korda of the Department of Fine Arts and Humanities (Augustana Campus), Betsy Boone of the Department of Art and Design, and graduate student Brandi Goddard; editor, Cheryl Cundell; School of Library and Information Studies students employed at the Peel library, Sara Tokay, Jesse Carson, Michaela Stang, and Cori Sanderson. Jeff Papineau, Library Assistant, and Anne Carr-Wiggin, NEOS Manager, Indigenous Initiatives, also assisted in various aspects of this exhibition. Kevin Zak designed the beautiful exhibition and accompanying catalogue.

When assistance was required with specific details of the photographs and associated media (literature and physical items), other individuals were called upon. We would like to thank Susan Berry, Curator Emeritus, Indigenous Studies, Royal Alberta Museum (RAM), Carolyn Morgan, Conservator, University of Alberta, and Julia Petrov, RAM Western Canadian History Curator. Heather Caverhill, PhD student at the University of British Columbia in the Department of Art History, Visual Art and Theory, generously shared her knowledge from her studies of prairie photography of the late 1870s and provided valuable commentary on drafts.

Other individuals with knowledge of the Indigenous peoples of Western Canada, were sought to clarify specific questions. Thanks go out to Christopher Cox, School of Linguistics and Language Studies, Carleton University; Brock Silversides, University of Toronto Media Commons; Claire Thomson, PhD history candidate at the University of Alberta; Corey Yellow Boy, Oglala College; Norma Hall, historian; and Sherry Farrell Racette, historian. We also thank Cameron Treleaven of Aquila Books, Calgary.

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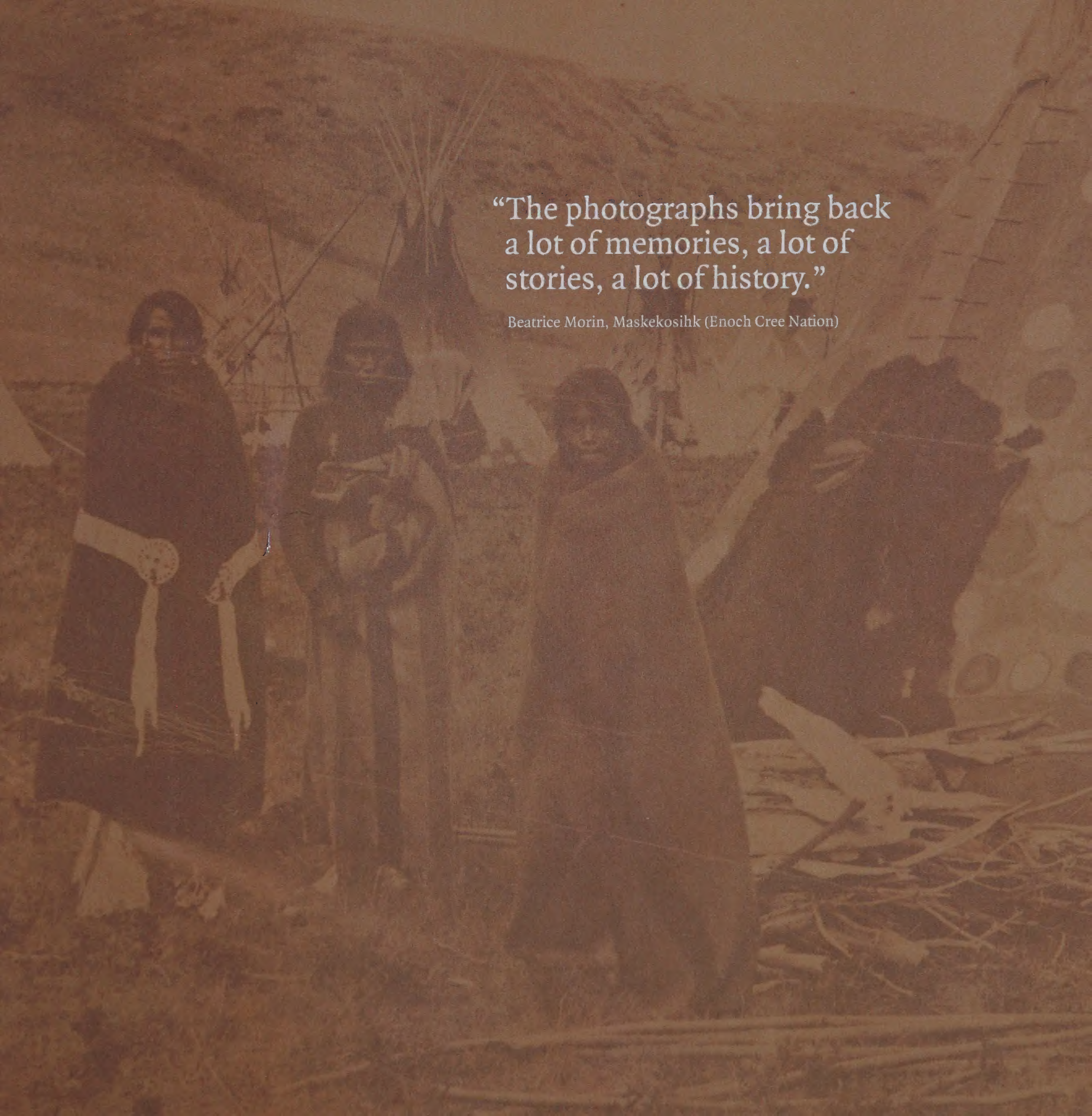
Lastly, tremendous appreciation goes to Ralph and Gay Young, who established the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund. It is through this fund that photographs of Indigenous peoples of Western Canada have been acquired and will be made available to the Internet through digitization. As Josephine Buffalo commented, "Now my children will not have experienced any of this; they will now know the difference."[4]

As alluded to in the opening statement made by Allan Wolfleg, the exhibition was built around the choices and observations of Elders, the "depositors" of knowledge. They chose to speak to images that honoured their Ancestors, providing insight into the symbols, rituals, and ceremonies that come together to show life – pimatsiwin (Nehiyaw meaning for "good life").



> “The photographs bring back a lot of memories, a lot of stories, a lot of history.”
>
> Beatrice Morin, Maskekosihk (Enoch Cree Nation)

ancestors

introduction

WHEN BEATRICE MORIN OF MASKEKOSIHK (Enoch Cree Nation) looked through the historic photographs of Indigenous peoples of Western Canada in Bruce Peel Special Collections, she found strong, independent ancestors. "They sure were survivors," she remarked. "They survived harsh elements and knew how to live off the land. The photographs bring back a lot of memories, a lot of stories, a lot of history."[1] The photographs that brought her back to her ancestors have exceptional potential to advance numerous lines of inquiry. This research potential was made clear in the responses of Elders who looked through the historic photographs collection; the photographs represent people they are proud of—people from earlier generations who endured and persisted through times of great upheaval.

This exhibition and its catalogue focus on the ancestors represented in the collection and how their images continue to generate stories and meanings in the present. For instance, when Nehiyawak (Cree) Elders Marvin Littlechild of the Ermineskin First Nation and Josephine Buffalo of the Samson Cree Nation explored the collection, Mrs Buffalo remarked that "everything is a story, why it's a symbol."[2] The pair discussed (often in Nehiyawewin, Plains Cree) the wealth of information that the photographs capture and convey—passed down by the grandparents who left these gifts of photographs to later generations. Mr Littlechild discovered a photograph of his own family, the Decoines (IP027, page 112), in the collection. He pointed out family members from six generations in the image, including his great-great-great-grandfather.

Similarly, when Siksika Elder Allan J. Wolfleg saw a photograph of three Niitsitapiisini (the name by which "Blackfoot" refer to themselves) women (IP008, cover image) he knew exactly who they were. His grandmother, Mrs Wolfleg, Eyiniimakii (Catcher Woman) is on horseback beside her sister, Mrs Duck Chief, and their young friend.[3] Mr Wolfleg's grandmother belonged to the Running Martens Clan (one of the seven Niitsitapiiyok Kaniitapii [clans] at the time). In this photograph, Mrs Wolfleg is wearing her war bonnet, which would have been earned through traditional Niitsitapii peytapiisin (ways). Allan Wolfleg recognized the beadwork in the photograph immediately as belonging to his grandmother, as well as the Niitsitapii floral designs on the beadwork as belonging to Mrs Duck Chief. He also recalled that the photograph was the inspiration for the sculpture *Following the Buffalo* by Alberta artist Harry O'Hanlon, who gave it to Mr Wolfleg to give to Prince Charles on the occasion of his visit to Blackfoot Crossing in 1977 for the hundredth anniversary of Treaty 7. The sculpture now sits in Buckingham Palace. Mr Wolfleg described how the photograph of his grandmother has travelled and been transformed and how it is entwined with many symbols and stories. Photographs represent much more than static moments frozen in time.

the nature of the collection and its challenges

AS CURATORS OF THIS EXHIBITION, we have been privileged to work with the Elders and hear them share their knowledge about the photographs. We marvelled at the richness and diversity of the photographs and their potential for enhancing understanding of the history, economies, culture, ceremonies, and art of the Indigenous Peoples of the western provinces. At the same time, we were confronted with the problems and limitations of the collection. All of the photographs were created by non-Indigenous photographers who had their own assumptions and objectives. Many images were created to be sold as souvenirs, postcards, and Christmas cards. As commercial items, they could be circulated and used in myriad ways far beyond the control of the sitters and the photographers. Photographs were contrived and distributed for ideological, political, and imperial reasons by colonial and government authorities, missionaries, police, and the military. Photographs were used to justify land dispossession, promote settlement, and satisfy the hunger for exotic, nostalgic, and romanticized depictions of so-called "vanishing" peoples. Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century photographs of people from Western Canadian Indigenous communities "are evidence of colonialism's incredible power to enlist in its service the very individuals whom it sought to dispossess."[4]

Critical scholarship on photography and empire overwhelmingly emphasizes that colonial authority was reinforced through the creation of signifiers of difference in images that divide the supposedly superior people from those the colonizers cast as inferior.[5] For example, a photograph of an Indigenous woman hauling wood could be used to contrast with settler women photographed as delicate, weak, and unsuited to hard labour. Some of this critical scholarship, however, also draws attention to the ways that colonized people appropriated photographs for their own uses.[6] While researching the works in this exhibition, we grappled with these tensions. When

opposite page, above

Indigenous women and children seated beside a tent marked "STUDIO."
Gelatin silver print. 10.0 x 14.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP153

opposite page, below

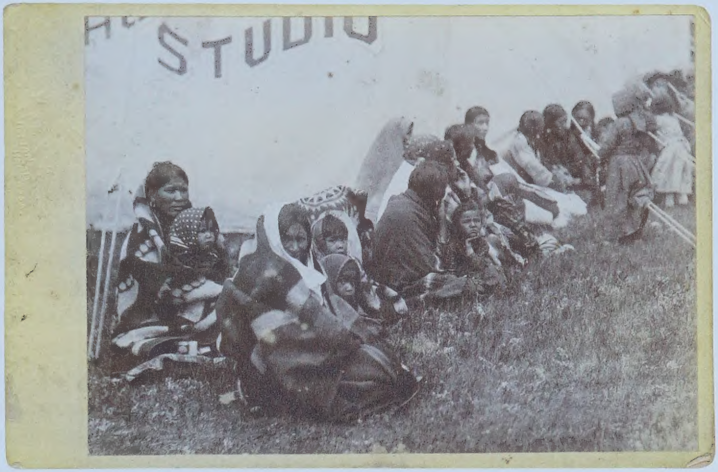
Studio portrait of a Cree family, with discernable cloth backdrop and a taxidermy horse.
Davidson Bros. Gelatin silver print. 14.1 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP046

we discussed the photographs with Elders and community members, they were not particularly concerned with issues of how colonized people were misrepresented and manipulated by imperial centres or for what purposes. They approached the collection as a valuable record of their ancestors. They were fascinated by the lives portrayed in the photographs and expressed little interest in the non-Indigenous viewers who collected the photographs, viewed them in their parlours, and assembled them into albums.

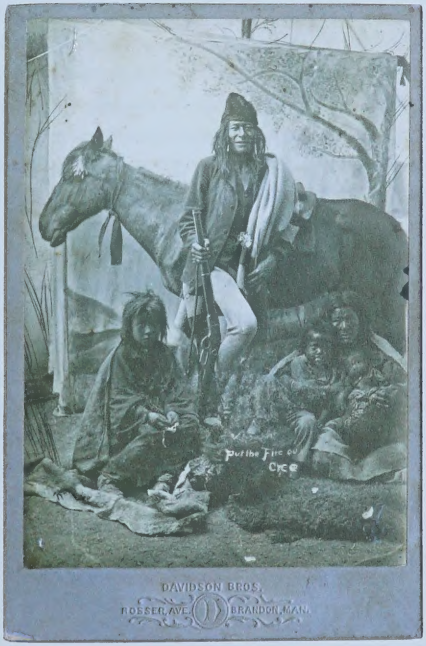
While working with the collection, we learned that photographs do not contain or convey single, simple messages: rather they have multiple meanings and diverse cultural uses, depending on who is viewing them—and when and why. Photographs can offer multilayered insights. They are not "moored to the conscious intentions of those who create or circulate them."[7] As Heather Caverhill wrote in her thesis on prairie photography of the 1870s, "a single photograph may perform multiple functions and inhabit varied meanings...[and] images of the past continue to generate meaning in the present."[8] Western Canadian Indigenous people viewing and connecting with their ancestors through these photographs today see very different things from the nineteenth-century souvenir collector or settler writing a postcard home.

Sitters for photographs were found in a variety of ways. The women and children captured at the top of the facing page (IP153) are gathered outside a photographer's studio tent. Beatrice Morin noted the shawls worn by many of the women and commented that "the children are playing on the ropes."[9] Josephine Buffalo further noted that some of these women appear to be shy, and that the children are wearing scarves as bonnets.[10] This is a more natural rather than staged photograph, and the women seem engaged in conversation.

We approached the vast body of commercial photographs in the collection with a critical eye. We noticed that studio photographers often posed people according to non-Indigenous gendered codes and conventions. They touched up and cropped images. We saw evidence that certain photographers staged scenes with Indigenous sitters using their own cache of costumes and artifacts. Perhaps the most obvious


STUDIO

IP153


Put the Fire ou
Cree
DAVIDSON BROS.
ROSSER AVE.
BRANDON, MAN.

IP046

of studio props is in a nineteenth-century portrait created in Brandon, Manitoba, which shows a woman and children seated and a man posed standing in front of a taxidermy horse (IP046, page 5, bottom). Elders Marvin Littlechild and Josephine Buffalo pointed out that the caption associated with this studio scene was misleading. The photographer's caption identifies the man as a Nehiyawak person named "Puts the Fire Out," which is a poor translation of a term meaning "cooling something off"—just one of the many inaccurate captions that community members drew our attention to.[11]

We found that the collection is dominated by posed groups and individuals, but it also includes photographs that seem spontaneous. A view of a group of Stoney Nakoda people taken in 1895 near Pincher Creek (IP049, page 146–47), for example, seems to capture what was happening during a fleeting moment. Stereograph images of a woman walking with her back to the camera (IP264, page 84) seem to have been taken on the spur of the moment. A stereograph was the first form of three-dimensional photography; dimensionality was created by placing two almost identical photographs side by side on cardboard to be viewed through a stereoscope.

The collection also has examples of portraits commissioned by Indigenous sitters who took advantage of the presence of studio photographers to acquire family or individual portraits for personal or business purposes.[12] For example, the exhibit includes *carte de visite* portraits of prominent Métis men including Louis Riel, Georges Racette, Gabriel Dumont, and Michel Dumas. In the nineteenth century, the *carte de visite* was a popular small photograph that was distributed like business cards are today.

We noted that there are fewer photographs of women than of men and that the women tend to be unnamed. Moreover, while there are documents and other sources that provide insight into the lives of some of the men featured in the collection, there are seldom documents or other sources providing insight into the lives of the women featured. Some photographs, however, offer insight, and more can be gleaned through further research. We were, for example, able to learn a great deal about Catherine Moignon Patenaude, the woman in the first and earliest image in the exhibition

(IP285, page 20). The “Mrs Assiniboine” who guided and assisted travellers Viscount Milton and Dr W.B. Cheadle in 1863, Patenaude was a strong woman who performed all manner of manual labour. Although the women in the photographs tend to be unnamed and sources of information about the women lacking, much can be learned about women’s lives, their work, and their roles in family and community by analyzing the details of photographs. Siksika Elder Ramona Lowhorn was not at all surprised to see a photograph of a Niitsitapii woman with an axe in her hand (IP076, page 138), for “women chopped wood too.”[13]

There is a preponderance of photographs from the communities along the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and far fewer photographs of central and northern peoples, as CPR photographers were at work taking thousands of pictures to promote the line, immigration, and investment. Yet there are few images of day-to-day life. Very few show the shacks and shanties that people lived in, the paucity of warm clothing and footwear after the disappearance of the buffalo, or the illnesses and deaths that resulted from insufficient and rancid rations. There are many, however, that feature tattered and patched tipis and gaunt people. In a photograph titled “Blackfoot Man,” by William Notman and Son (IP089, page 95), the man, despite his tattered tipi, proudly displays a treasured belonging: a breastplate made of serpent side plates recycled from British trade muskets.[14]

It is always spring, summer, or fall in these photographs—never winter. There are few photographs that depict Indigenous people in the non-Indigenous dress of the time, at work in their fields, or with agricultural machinery. Instead there is an emphasis on traditional, ancient lifeways and regalia rather than on adaptations to the new economic order. As with the photographs taken by Walter McClintock of Niitsitapiisini (Blackfeet) in the USA, there is a focus on the “old days,” and this focus reflects the romantic ideals and nostalgic longings of the photographers, as well as the market for photographs such as these.[15]

ancestors

western canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF WESTERN CANADA who appear in these photographs include Anishinaabe (Plains Ojibway, Saulteaux), Nehiyawak (Plains Cree), Dakota, Nakoda Oyadebi (Assiniboine), Nihithawak (Woodland Cree), Lakota, Niitsitapiisini (Blackfoot)—consisting of Siksika (Blackfoot proper), Piikani (Peigan), and Kainai (Blood)—Tsuut'ina (Sarcee), Stoney Nakoda, and Métis. The photographs in the collection were created during years of unprecedented change and challenges for Indigenous peoples. The treaties of the 1870s between the Crown and the First Nations were intended to forge relationships that could assist in the transition to an agricultural economy. The mainstay of life, the bison, was rapidly disappearing and was gone at the end of that decade. By the late 1870s there was deep dissatisfaction and disappointment over the non-fulfillment of treaty promises. There was also widespread starvation, and withholding of rations was used by the federal government to implement its policies.[16]

Meanwhile settlers arrived in ever larger numbers, mainly as homesteaders. First Nations people were prohibited under the Indian Act from acquiring the 160-acre grant of land available to all Canadian and immigrant males over the age of 18. They were obliged to move to reserves set aside under treaties. After 1885, an illegal pass system, implemented especially in the southern settlement belt of the plains and parklands, was used to keep people on their reserves and monitor their movements and activities. Industrial and, later, residential schools were established by the federal government working in conjunction with religious denominations to remove children from their parents and grandparents; to alienate them from their own languages, cultures, and religions; and to replace these with English, Christianity, and western education.

It is interesting that most of the photographs depict an earlier world of the peoples of the West, before the impact of these upheavals. The photographs suggest that the

West was a place where Indigenous people were still free to travel, hunt, fish, and camp where they wished, when such was far from the case. These images, and not those that reflected impoverishment, would have appealed to the buyers of Christmas cards, postcards, and stereographs, which were kept in the parlours of the well-to-do.

The Métis, who were not treaty people, also dealt with profound change in this era. They were offered scrip of either money or land, and few who chose land remained in possession of that land. Although Métis people could escape the Indian Act and restrictions such as the pass system, they were subjected to racist attitudes of settlers and government authorities. After 1885 it became a huge liability to have Indigenous ancestry. The Métis had mounted two resistances, in 1869–70 and 1885, both led by Louis Riel. They were perceived as a dangerous source of subversion by government and police authorities. Métis women were cast as sinister by settler society, as, through their marriages with settler males, they crisscrossed colonial divides and categories. Discourses of social and racial purity that warned of degeneration and moral decay, and of the decline and pollution of the "imperial race," characterized English Canadian constructions of national identity. Racial categorization intensified. The Métis became a largely impoverished people on the margins of the new settler society, economically and socially, yet, as many photographs in the collection attest to, they retained a vibrant, rich culture and identity.

ancestors

the aims of the curators

OUR AIMS FOR CURATING AN EXHIBITION from the Peel collection of Photographs of Indigenous Peoples in Western Canada were to showcase the vast potential of the photographs to carry memory, to serve as windows into the past, and to educate people in the present. For the exhibition, we chose photographs from the collection that counter and challenge colonial narratives and stereotypes that cast Indigenous peoples as vanishing, subjugated, or defeated.[17] The selected photographs contribute to a richer, deeper understanding of the past. Many include minute details of life not accessible through other sources. There is strength, character, persistence, determination, artwork, humour, dance, celebration, and so much more in the photographs. Some serve as records of cherished landscapes that may have been altered. Others provide links to ancestors: revered leaders, soldiers, healers, thinkers, and orators. We also sought to raise flags of warning about assuming the photographs to be unproblematic "authentic" documents of the past. We provide examples of how some were contrived and manipulated for various purposes. As Carol J. Williams has argued, "the camera was not a benign tool of observation."[18]

The principal focus of the exhibition is on the pride that we see in the faces of the people of the past, and the pride shared by their descendants and community members today. Historian Rosalyn LaPier has argued that her Niitsitapiisini ancestors willingly engaged with ethnographers, who were often also photographers. The Niitsitapiisini wanted to create records of what they viewed as important for future generations,[19] although the Ah kai jitapii (old first people) were very hesitant, as they felt the camera was taking their soul.[20] LaPier argues that during the early reservation era the Niitsitapiisini did not lose control of their culture; they were willing to collaborate in new technologies to record and present their teachings and lifeways.[21] While LaPier's emphasis is on the oral stories that the Niitsitapiisini wanted preserved, a similar argument could be made for photographs, which also contain narratives and tell stories. Like oral histories, winter counts, and symbolism on tipis (called by the Nitsitapiisini, *iikokan*—meaning the "story from the pictures"), hides, and ledgers—photographs can be understood as a means of ensuring a legacy for and a connection with the next generation. According to Elder Allan Wolfleg, "symbols, rituals and ceremonies, they all come together."[22]

Inez Lightning reached out to Elders with traditional knowledge who would recognize people, places, events, and details in the photographs. Discussions with Elders were unstructured. The Elders shared what they saw in the photographs and what they felt was important to know about the images. Elders helped us read more deeply into the photographs. For example, when Tsuut'ina Elder Mike (Thomas) Meguinis examined a photograph of a dinner on the Tsuut'ina First Nation near Calgary dated 1912 (IP011, page 161), he recognized his grandfather Mark Crowchild (far left) and another relative, Chief Big Belly (far right), with Tom Many Horses, Joe Big Plume, and Dodging Horse.[23] Mr Meguinis chuckled, imagining that they were telling stories to each other. Likewise, when Tom Snow, Elder of the Stoney Nakoda First Nation, saw an image of Chief Hector Crawler of the Wesley band in the collection (IP007, page 109), he recalled stories about how the renowned chief and medicine man had cured people of "Spanish" Influenza (a global pandemic) in 1918.[24] He noted that the tipi in the photograph was used for ceremony. It is larger than those for families. He pointed out the three women wearing headdresses to the immediate right of Hector Crawler, and he further explained that prior to European contact, the Stoney Nakoda had a more matriarchal society.

Much of the scholarship related to historic photographs of Western Canadian Indigenous peoples has focused on the photographers.[25] While this critical work is valuable, we wanted this exhibit to be less about the photographers and more about the people in the photographs. Indigenous sitters participated and collaborated in photographic productions that were not entirely one-sided encounters. Around the turn of the previous century, photographers generally paid a one-dollar fee for a pose,

opposite page, above

Astokumi and family, Tsuut'ina, in camp.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 16.0 x 23.4 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP086

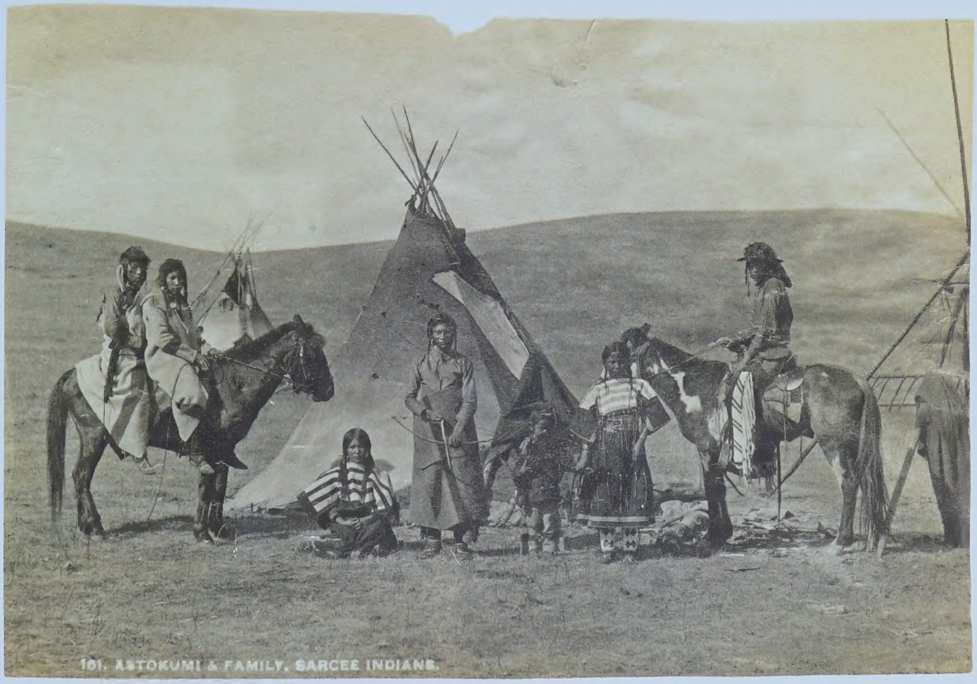
opposite page, below

In this postcard, published by Warwick Bros and Rutter, Astokumi and family appear within an ornate gilt frame between the Canadian coat of arms (left) and the Union Jack flag crossing the Red Ensign flag of Canada (right) and are used to promote Canadian and British patriotism.
D.J. Young. Postcard. 9.0 x 14.0 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC017969

and posing was one way to earn money. Read in this light, photographs show adaptive capacity. Certainly not all Indigenous people engaged with the economy around photography. Some people refused to have their photographs taken, asserting their "rights over the representation of self and territory."[26]

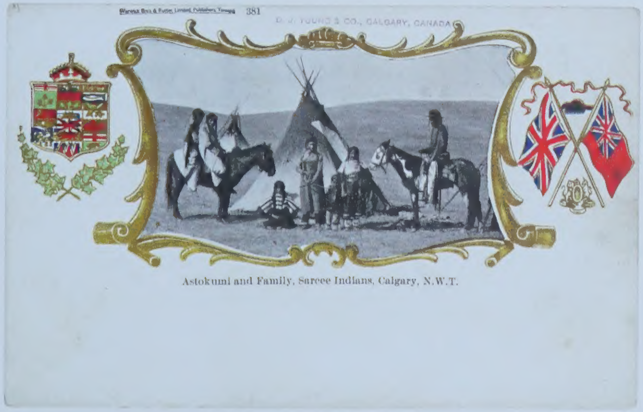
After looking through the works in the collection we were struck by the mobility of photographs. Items in the collection circulated far and wide within Canada and overseas. In the exhibition we provide samples of the different ways that images were deployed: as stereographs and souvenirs and in booklets and on dishware. Certain photographs in the collection made their way into a popular English magazine as etchings. Also, there are several examples of photographs that were made into Christmas cards and postcards. On the facing page, the top photograph of a Tsuut'ina family (IP086), "Astokumi & Family," is from the same session as the photograph used for Peel postcard 17969. When photographs circulated widely as commodities, they became detached from their origins. Drawing from Australian digital archivist Jane Lydon, we hope that this exhibit will facilitate the "bringing home" of the images in these photographs. Lydon posits that photographs permit reconnection with ancestors and are critical, sometimes the only, records of forebears: "[i]n this re-animated field of interpretation, photographs swell beyond the archive, becoming living agents for Aboriginal communities and relatives who are now bringing them home."[27]

Providing the materials in Indigenous Photograph Collection with accurate captions is a work in progress at Bruce Peel Special Collections. The languages and translations used in some of the original captions and descriptions are being changed and corrected (for example Sarcee to Tsuut'ina). Derogatory descriptions have been removed, mistakes corrected, and details added. (The digitized images will also include information from the original captions.) Many photographs were accompanied by erroneous captions. During the last one hundred years and more, captions were added by photographers, who had purchased them from other photographers, and by collectors, sometimes in error, and sometimes correcting previous errors. One example is a photograph (IP054, page 89) of a Kainai man, Black Plume, on the back of which is



161. ASTOKUMI & FAMILY, SARCEE INDIANS.

IP086



Warwick Bros & Rutter, Limited, Publishers, Toronto 381

D. J. YOUNG & CO., CALGARY, CANADA

Astokumi and Family, Sarcee Indians, Calgary, N.W.T.

PC017969

written “Cheif [*sic*] Sitting Bull: Taken 1800” with the date overwritten so that it reads “1900.” Someone later has added an arrow and written “No it isn’t.” That later writer was correct. The photograph dates from 1895, Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake (Sitting Bull) had died in 1890 at Standing Rock Reservation in the USA. But there was likely a brisk market for images of the famous chief who had defeated Colonel George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876.

There is much to be learned from discussing the collection with community members whose ancestors are in the photographs. Also, there is the need and the potential to dig deeper, to locate and learn from documentary sources, which sometimes contradict the captions attached to the photographs. “Metis Dandy” (IP106, page 56), for example, turned out to be a rare 1879 photograph of a western-educated young Lakota man, from Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake’s camp at Wood Mountain, who claimed to be a nephew of the chief and who wrote to government authorities on behalf of his people. Captions in an exhibit such as this only allow glimpses into the complexities behind the photographs.

We have done as much as we could within our constraints to reconnect the photographs in the exhibition to what we know of the people pictured and their stories, but this is an enormous task, which has only just begun. Although we consulted with Indigenous community members, this is not a “visual repatriation” project. Recent visual repatriation projects have involved returning photographs to communities and ongoing consultation over months, if not years.[28] We hope, however, that this project is a step toward communities and individuals reclaiming the images in these photographs. In “Turning the Lens: Indigenous Archival Photo Project,” Paul Seesequasis argues that photographs once isolated in museums and archives are today “liberated in a previously unimagined digitized world. It is a new imagining, a return of kin, of ancestors, cousins…”[29] The images can be reclaimed; the previously unnamed, named. The images are a “tribute to the strength and determination of ancestors who worked hard, who laughed, who passed down stories, kept language alive, and, in a single pausing of time, gifted us with a photographic legacy saying this is where I came from. This is why I am here.”[30]

ancestors

the exhibition

THE INDIGENOUS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION comprises images acquired in recent years from businesses specializing in trading historic photographs, books, and maps. Many were purchased through Cameron Treleaven of Aquila Books in Calgary. He obtains photographic materials from auctions, antique dealers, book fairs, individuals, and online sources. Many were collected by George Agapeyev of Calgary. Prior to becoming part of the collection, most of the photographs passed through the hands of non-Indigenous buyers and sellers. The continued demand for and circulation of the photographs and the images that they capture is evidence of the enduring fascination with and desire to possess historic images of Indigenous people. The photographs that have been collected and housed at Bruce Peel Special Collections have been digitized and are available on the World Wide Web. They are now accessible to a much wider public, including the people whose ancestors are in the photographs. In this way, the original commercial, imperial, colonial, and military uses of these photographs can be juxtaposed with information about the people, places, and ancient lifeways that these photographs document and preserve for future generations.

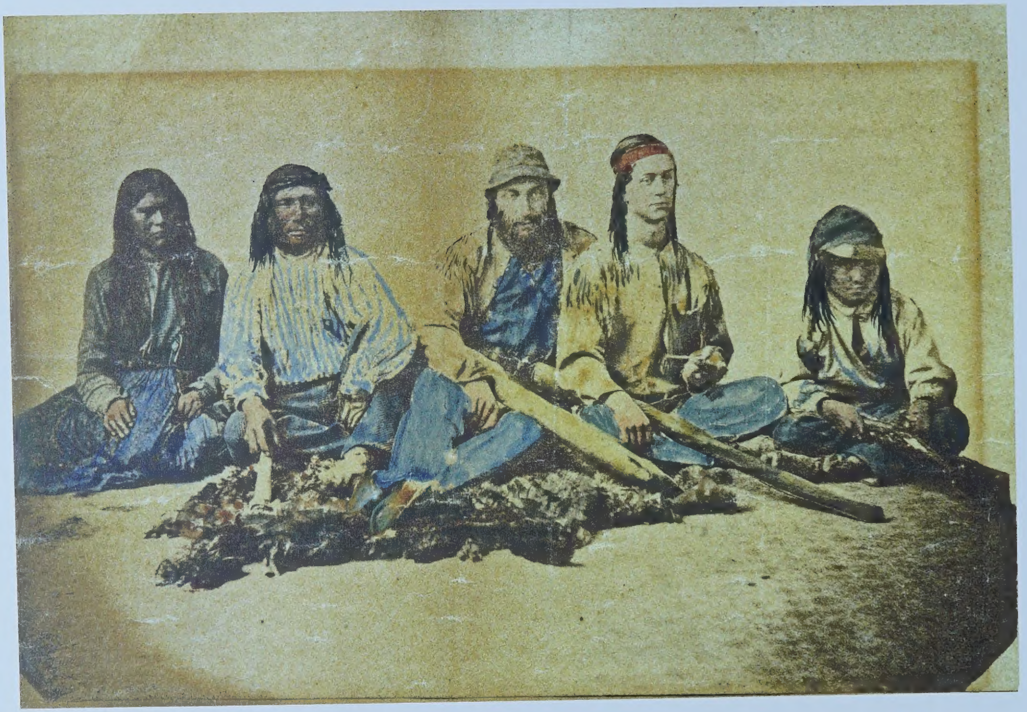
As the collection came together, there were no deliberate attempts to acquire the work of particular photographers or to acquire photographs of particular Indigenous groups or from specific time periods. The emphasis was on Western Canada, one of the specialties of Bruce Peel Special Collections. This exhibition reflects the eclecticism, variety, and scope of the collection. We have arranged the photographs in small thematic clusters or vignettes that are guided by our principal aims to showcase photographs that reveal the lives and resilience of ancestors, while challenging colonial narratives.

The collection is a rich resource for historians interested in photographic practices and technologies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While we address shifting modes of production, our focus in this exhibition is primarily on the ancestors who participated in the photographs. There is a rough chronology ordering the exhibition. The timeline is not strictly linear however because some of the photographs are undated and some of them have been grouped thematically. We put groups of photographs into conversation in order to address a range of issues. We asked ourselves what the photographs could reveal about specific individuals, families, and communities and their lands. We were interested in how significant people and political events are represented in photographs, how gender is represented, and how the photographs and the images they depict were circulated. We analyzed photographs for what they could tell us about the everyday lives of the people in them and the cultural, artistic, and ceremonial practices of those people.

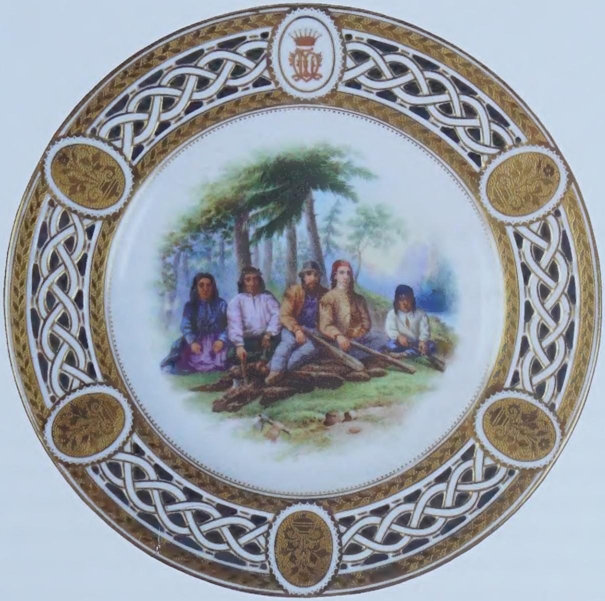
Catherine Moignon Patenaude (left), Louis "The Assiniboine" Patenaude (second from left), and Benjamin Patenaude (far right): guides to English travellers Viscount Milton and Dr W.B. Cheadle

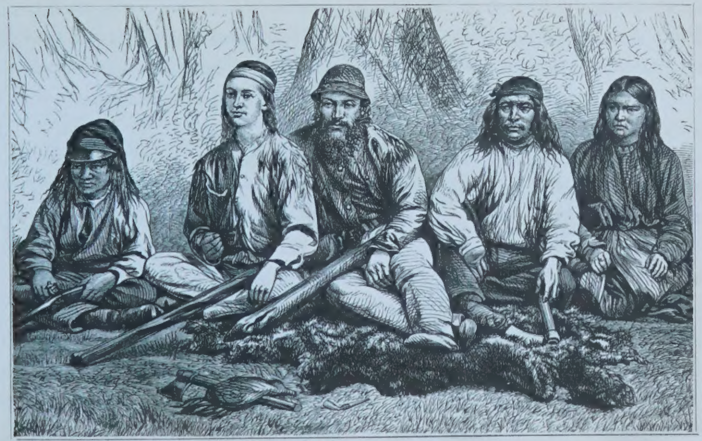
The Indigenous people in the image on the following page (IP285) are among the first from Western Canada to be photographed. The year is 1863, the place Victoria, and the Patenaude family pictured have accompanied English adventurers and travellers Viscount Milton (William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam) and his friend Dr W.B. Cheadle from Fort Edmonton to New Westminster. We chose to start our exhibit with this image, which is the earliest in the collection, because we have rare insight into the Indigenous sitters and because, when combined with research and the published accounts of these travellers, the image provides a window onto the months-long encounter between the English visitors and their Indigenous guides.[31] It also illustrates how images of Indigenous people circulated in various media and for diverse purposes. The image itself connects the members of the nineteenth-century Patenaude family with their descendants who still live in Edmonton and district.[32]

In search of adventure, and hoping to find an overland route to the gold fields of the Cariboo, Milton and Cheadle landed in Quebec in 1862 and travelled west to Fort Garry (Winnipeg) and then to Fort Pitt (present day Saskatchewan near the Alberta border) where they were fortunate to hire the Patenaude family, who led them across the plains and mountains. They left Fort Edmonton in early June 1863. Louis insisted that his wife and son accompany them, and the travellers reluctantly agreed, later realizing that this "proved our salvation."[33] Rather than finding Catherine and son Benjamin a burden to feed, the travellers found that Catherine and Benjamin fed them and otherwise kept them alive. Catherine, born at Frog Lake in 1832, was the daughter of an Iroquois trader and Métis mother. She married Louis Patenaude at Fort Pitt in 1848.[34] Son Benjamin was born in 1854, and the couple had another child who died at Fort Pitt just before the English travellers arrived. The family volunteered to guide the travellers, according to Milton and Cheadle, because they were "unhappy and unsettled on account of the loss [and] were anxious to leave the scene of their misfortune..."[35]



IP285





OUR PARTY ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS.
(*From a Photograph.*) (*Frontispiece.*)

opposite page

Studio portrait of Catherine Moignon Patenaude, Louis Patenaude or "The Assiniboine," Dr W.B. Cheadle, Viscount Milton, and Benjamin Patenaude. The journey undertaken by this group is described in Cheadle and Milton's book *The Northwest Passage by Land: Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1865).

Albumen, hand tinted. 16.8 x 12.6 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP285

left, above

This Minton dessert plate, along with one other, was acquired by the Royal Alberta Museum in 2013. It features the same image as in our collection. The image was painted on the plate manually. The plates are early examples of commemorative tourist souvenirs in this case commissioned specially by a tourist.
Image courtesy Royal Alberta Museum.

left, below

The frontispiece to the book by Viscount Milton and W.B. Cheadle, *The North-West Passage By Land* (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1865), with the caption "Our Party Across the Mountains" is a reverse image of the one in this collection, with Benjamin Patenaude first on the left. The book was very popular and had gone through eight editions by 1875, so the image circulated widely. The original photograph for the frontispiece (in the British Columbia Archives reference code A-00601) shows Catherine on the left, as in the image in this collection.
University of Alberta Research & Collections Resource Facility (UARCRF)
FC 3205.1 M66 1865

In the accounts written by Milton and Cheadle, the Patenaude family comes to life. Usually referring to Louis as "The Assiniboine," Milton and Cheadle praise him for his "wonderful sagacity," courage, and strength, despite the fact that he had only one hand, having lost the other in a gun accident.[36] On one occasion, for example, he rescued a horse swept away by a stream by galloping at full speed and then, "as the horse neared the shore, passing down a most fearful rapid, he leaped in, threw his arms round the horse's neck, who neighed grateful when he saw his deliverer come to the rescue, and the two, mutually supporting each other, gained the shore."[37] Catherine (referred to as "Mrs Assiniboine") was also an invaluable member of the party. We know she spoke Nehiyawewin, as on one occasion, angry at a "timid and useless" Irishman who was with the party, she "relieved her feelings by a torrent of violent language in the Cree tongue."[38]

When they finally reached Victoria, Vancouver Island, Milton and Cheadle were determined to introduce the family to the "wonders of civilization," including having their photograph taken.[39] The Patenaudes returned the following summer to Edmonton, where Louis soon died of a disease. In a postscript to their 1865 book *The Northwest Passage by Land*, Milton and Cheadle note that they had received "the sad intelligence of the death of that brave, indomitable, and matchless guide, The Assiniboine."[40]

Catherine had a long and eventful life. She had another son, named Louis, with Louis Patenaude. After her first husband's death she married fur trader James Keith Simpson (a son of Governor George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company), and they lived at Fort Pitt and Frog Lake.[41] She was at Frog Lake during the spring of 1885 when young men from the band of Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear) killed nine men whom they felt had starved and abused their people. Catherine Simpson has been credited with saving a Hudson's Bay Company clerk.[42] She, her husband James, and sons Benjamin and Louis were all swept into Big Bear's camp, which was on the move for two months in the spring of 1885 trying to evade the pursuing North West Field Force.[43] Catherine Simpson later testified in Nehiyawewin, through an interpreter at Big Bear's trial for treason, that the chief had tried to stop the killing.[44] Following these tumultuous times the family lived quietly on a ranch near Onion Lake Saskatchewan. She passed away in 1906 and was laid to rest in the cemetery of Notre Dame Du Rosaire, Onion Lake.

The image in the 1863 photograph circulated widely, including internationally, and it was put to diverse uses. Beginning as a staged studio portrait with hand tinting, as shown in this collection, the image was used for an etching in *The Northwest Passage by Land* (page 21, bottom) and a scene on a dinner plate (page 21, top). In the etching, the image is reversed. The plate, in the collection at the Royal Alberta Museum, was handmade, and the scene was painted on manually. In England, Milton lectured and "dined out" on his travels and adventures and was heralded as a "fine, heroic young man, of true English pluck and daring."[45] Guests for dinner at his stately home were likely regaled with tales of adventure and the hunt in far off British North America as they ate from this fine china with scenes of his travels.

The image reproduced as a scene on the dinner plate now provides a direct connection to the descendants of the people pictured. Judy Half (PhD candidate in Anthropology at the University of Calgary) was working at the Royal Alberta Museum in 2013 when she saw the plate and realized she had a personal connection, as she is a fourth-generation granddaughter of the Patenaudes.

Nehiyawak Chief Mahkesis (Little Fox) and Red River Photographs in the London Graphic, 1874

When we discovered this early set of photographs (IP105, IP109, and IP113) in the collection, we were thrilled, as they may be the only photographs of the distinguished Nehiyawak leader, Mahkesis, The Fox, also known as "Little Fox." He died in the fall of 1874, and the photographs likely date from just before his death. On the back, they bear the stamp of Irishman Simon Duffin, who established a photography business in Winnipeg in 1873. This set provides another example of the movement of photographic images between North America and Europe.

In 1868 "Little Fox [Mahkesis], head Chief of the Cree Nation," was described as a "man of considerable mind."[46] According to a newspaper of the Red River settlement,

> [t]his celebrated Chief was named in his youth Mahkahcheese, the Fox by his grandmother who brought him up ...and [he] is hereditary Chief of the whole Cree Nation. He has distinguished himself as a Hunter, Scout and Warrior, and his name is heard with respect in the Lodges of all the Tribes east of the Rocky Mountains. He speaks his own language Cree, and also Chippewa, Sioux, Crow and Assiniboin and his universal reputation as a peacemaker gives him security in his journeys ...[47]

Beginning in 1868, Mahkesis protested the presumption of the Hudson's Bay Company to "sell" Nehiyawak land to the government of Canada and was forceful in demanding recognition of Indigenous rights. He said to the Governor of the HBC, "We never sold these lands to you and yet you sell these lands to the Strangers for much money... How is it that you want to sell what is not yours?"[48]

Two photographs of Mahkesis appeared as etchings in the London weekly illustrated paper *The Graphic* in 1874 under the title "The Red River Territory."[49] *The Graphic* promoted emigration to lands in the far corners of the British Empire while portraying the Indigenous peoples of these lands as belonging to the past, disappearing, and

opposite page, above left

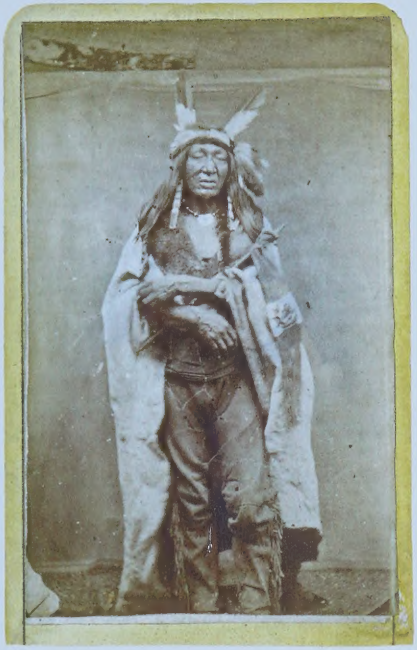
Carte de visite: Chief Little Fox, Nehiyawak.
S. Duffin. Albumen. 9.5 x 5.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP105

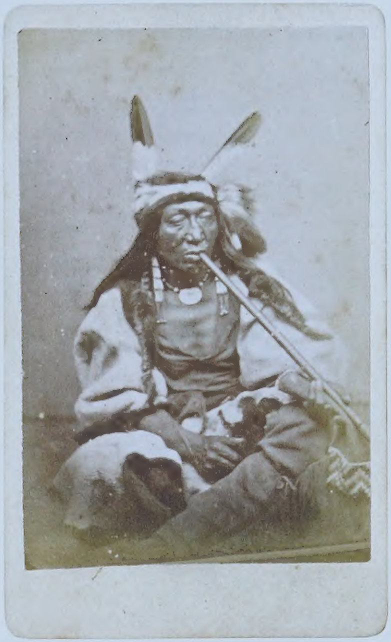
opposite page, above right

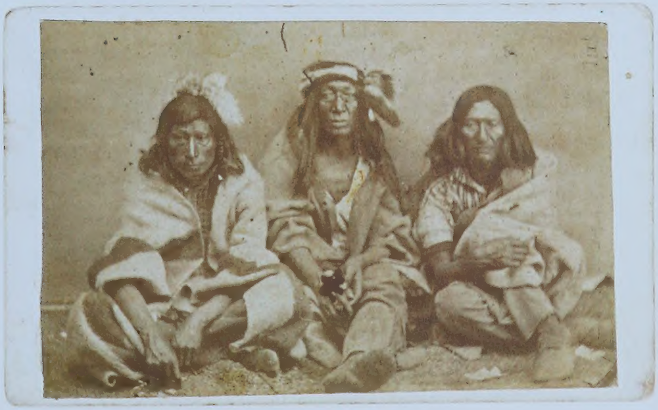
Carte de visite: Chief Little Fox, Mahkesis, Nehiyawak, as identified in pencil on verso.
Duffin & Co. Albumen. 9.0 x 5.9 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP109

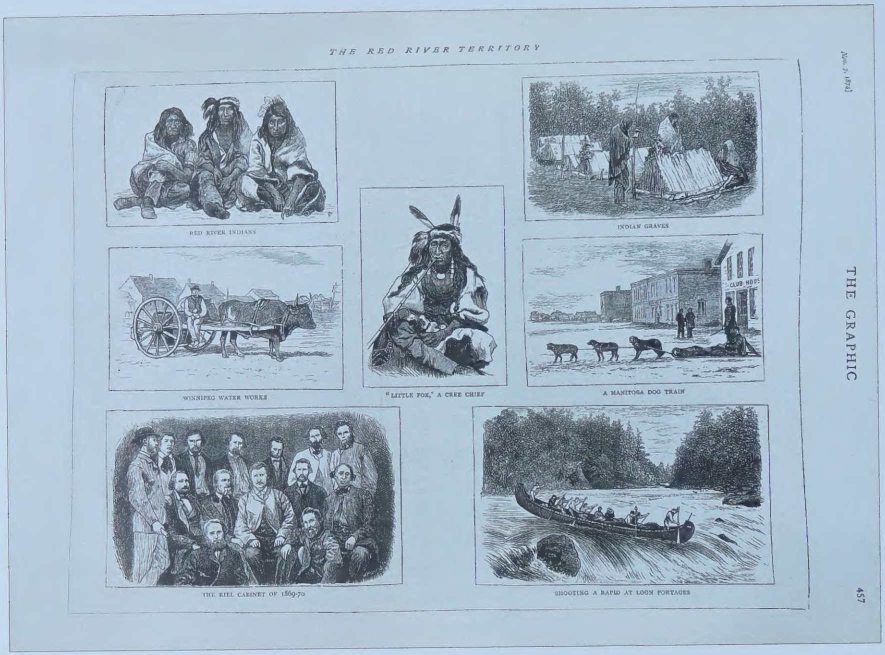
opposite page, below

Carte de visite: Chief Little Fox, Mahkesis, Nehiyawak, flanked by two other Cree men.
S. Duffin. Albumen. 5.8 x 9.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP113


IP105


IP109


IP113



THE RED RIVER TERRITORY

Nov. 7, 1874]

RED RIVER INDIANS

INDIAN GRAVES

WINNIPEG WATER WORKS

"LITTLE FOX," A CREE CHIEF

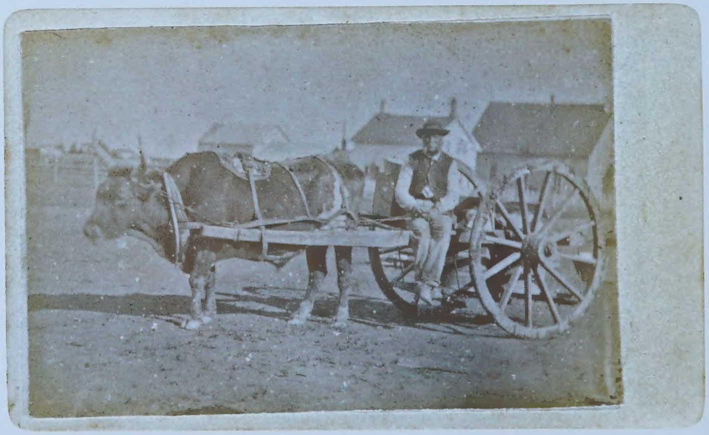
A MANITOBA DOG TRAIN

THE RIEL CABINET OF 1869-70

SHOOTING A RAPID AT LOON PORTAGES

THE GRAPHIC

457



IP115

no impediment to settlement. An English settler in Manitoba, W.G. Finney furnished *The Graphic* with the photographs used for the etchings in "The Red River Territory." Finney's 1874 letters on "Manitoba and the Great North West" in *The Times* of London had "recently attracted considerable attention," according to *The Graphic*.[50] Finney was assailed by a "legion" of correspondents and their "leading question" was "are the Indians troublesome?" He reported they were "all absolutely friendly with the whites..." providing "every kindness and aid."[51]

After analyzing "The Red River Territory" page from *The Graphic*, we noticed that other etchings were sourced from photographs that are also part of the collection. For instance, the etching titled "Winnipeg Water Works" is from a photograph of James Irvin (IP115), a Métis man who supplied water to the settlement. Regarded as a rare treasure and window onto Winnipeg's past, the photograph was placed in a time capsule in the City Hall cornerstone. It was retrieved when the building was demolished in 1962, as an article from the 5 May 1962 *Winnipeg Tribune* explains.

opposite page, above

The Graphic (London) 7 Nov. 1874, 457. These etchings gathered under the title "Red River Territory" were based on Simon Duffin photographs sent to *The Graphic* by English settler in Manitoba W.G. Finney. Original photographs of four of these etchings, identified here as "Red River Indians" (with Mahkesis at centre), "Little Fox: Cree Chief," "Winnipeg Water Works," and "Indian Graves," are in the collection.
"The Red River Territory," *The Graphic* London, vol. 10, Iss. 258 (Nov. 7, 1874), p. 457. Image courtesy of the Legislative Library of Manitoba.

opposite page, below

Carte de visite: James Irvin, Métis, sitting on his Red River cart, Winnipeg, c.1875. The subject is identified through a story in *The Winnipeg Tribune*, 5 May 1962.
Duffin & Caswell. Albumen. 6.0 x 9.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP115

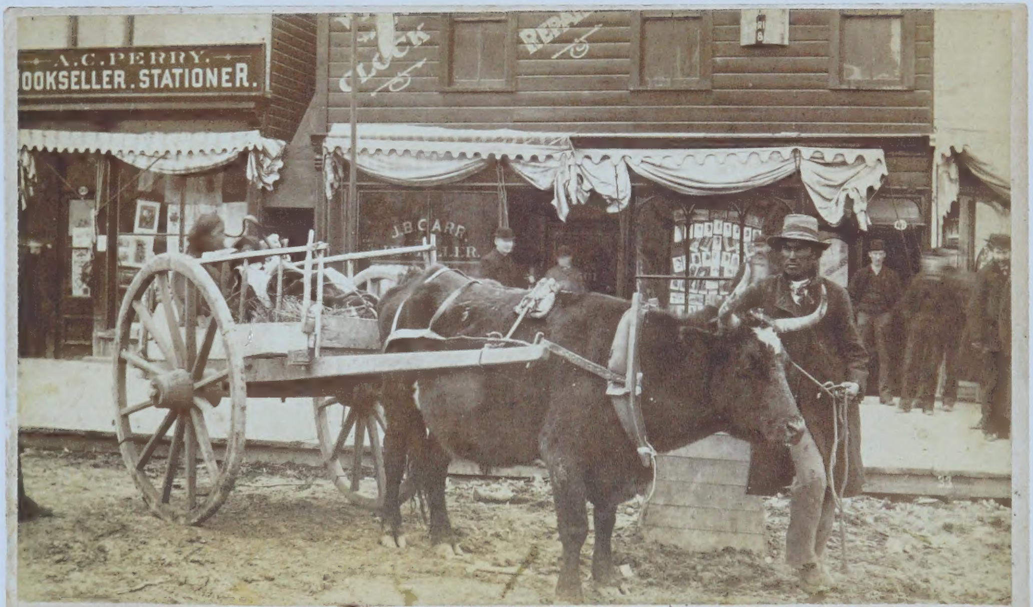
opposite page

Indigenous family with their Red River cart on Main Street in Winnipeg. Behind is the Hall and Lowe photography studio with sample photos for sale in the window.
Hall & Lowe. Albumen. 11.1 x 18.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP094

Indigenous Peoples of Southern Manitoba: Commercial Photographs Sold by Hall and Lowe Studio Winnipeg, 1880s

This photograph (IP094) of a Métis man and family in a Red River cart pulled by an ox dates from the 1880s. It is taken on muddy Main Street of Winnipeg across from City Hall. The photograph was sold by Hall and Lowe, whose studio is shown here with photographs hanging in the window. James Deakin Hall (1854–1936) was an Irish immigrant, and Skene Lowe (1856–1920), an Englishman. They were in business at this location from 1882 to 1887. They advertised "Indian photos (taken from life), Xmas cards, views of Winnipeg,"[52] and they sold commercial photographs widely in North America and Europe.[53]

Pages 30 through 32 show a set of cabinet cards (IP164, IP172, IP173, IP184, and IP185). Cabinet cards, as their name indicates, were sold by photography studios as commercial works either to be displayed on cabinets or mounted in albums. None of the women in this Hall and Lowe set are named. They are likely people of the Treaty 1 and Treaty 2 regions of southern Manitoba, and they were likely paid to pose. Participating in commercial photography could have provided financial benefit during the 1880s, which was a time of dramatic change and upheaval in Western Canada. Historian and curator Katherine Pettipas finds it striking that in most of the Hall and Lowe portraits the subjects are "in their everyday garb as you might have met them in passing in the 1880s."[54]


A. C. PERRY.
BOOKSELLER. STATIONER.
CLOCK
REPAI
J. B. CARR
SELLER

Photographers, **HALL & LOWE** Main St., Winnipeg.

IP094

right

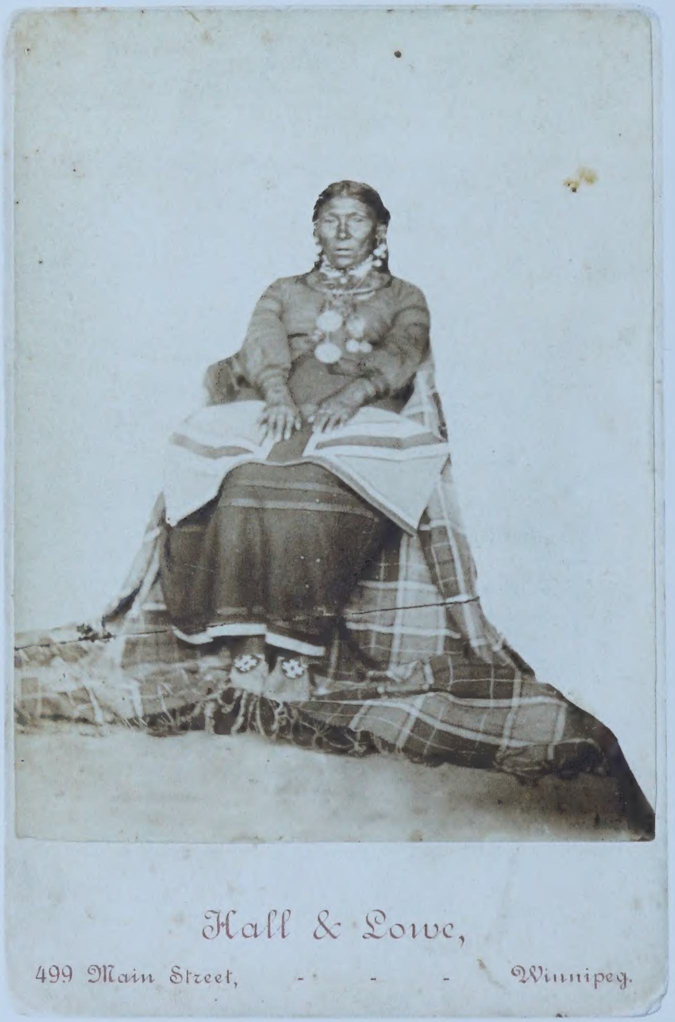
Studio portrait of a seated Indigenous woman.
Hall & Lowe. Albumen. 13.6 x 10.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP185

opposite page, right

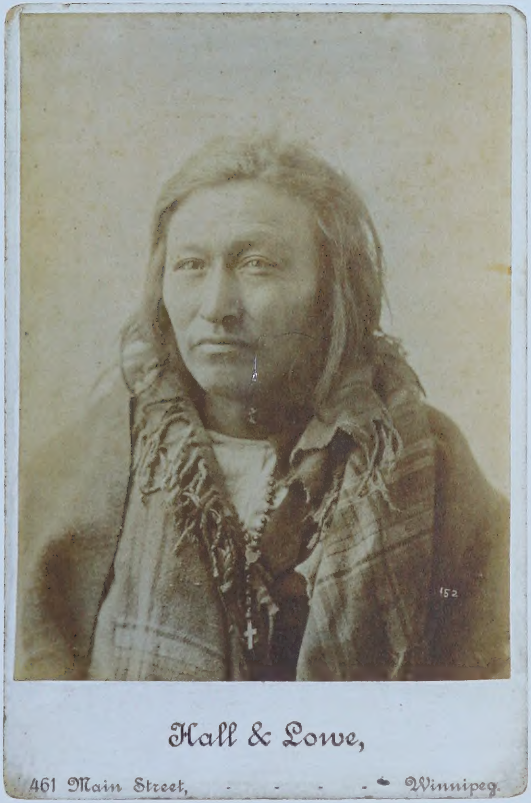
Studio portrait of an Indigenous person.
Hall & Lowe. Albumen. 13.9 x 10.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP164

opposite page, left

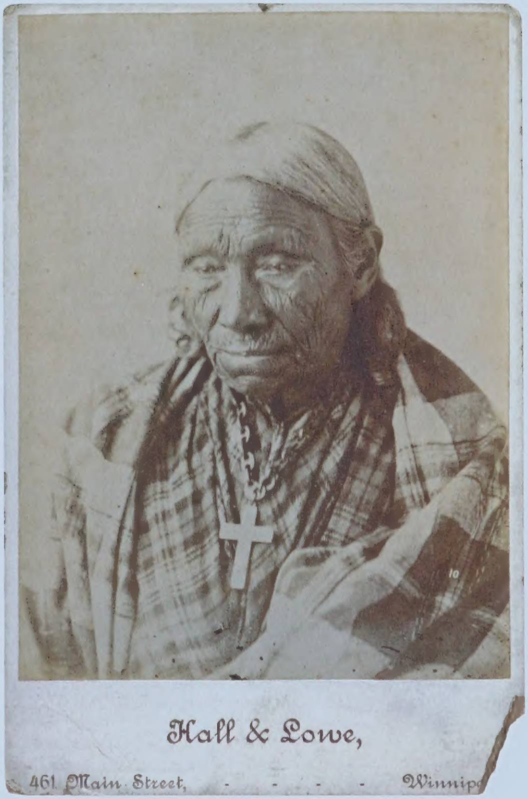
Studio portrait of elderly woman. Handwriting on verso indicates that she is 105 years old.
Hall & Lowe. Albumen. 13.9 x 10.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP173



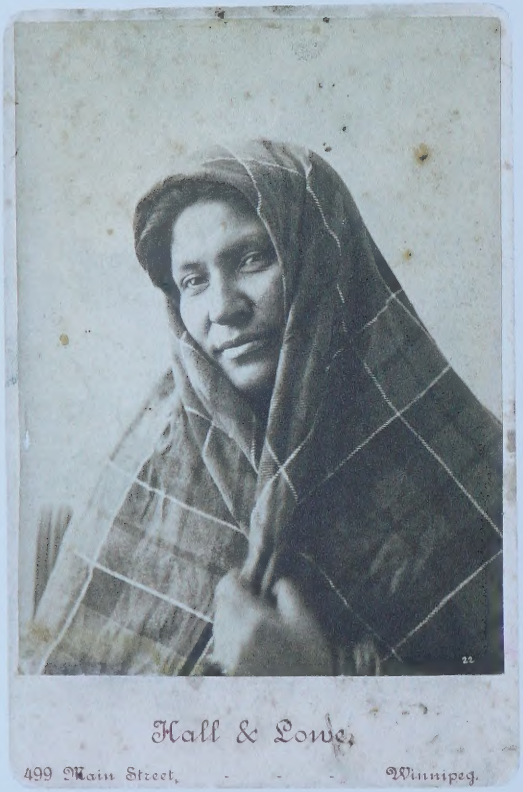
IP185


152
Hall & Lowe,
461 Main Street, - - - - Winnipeg.

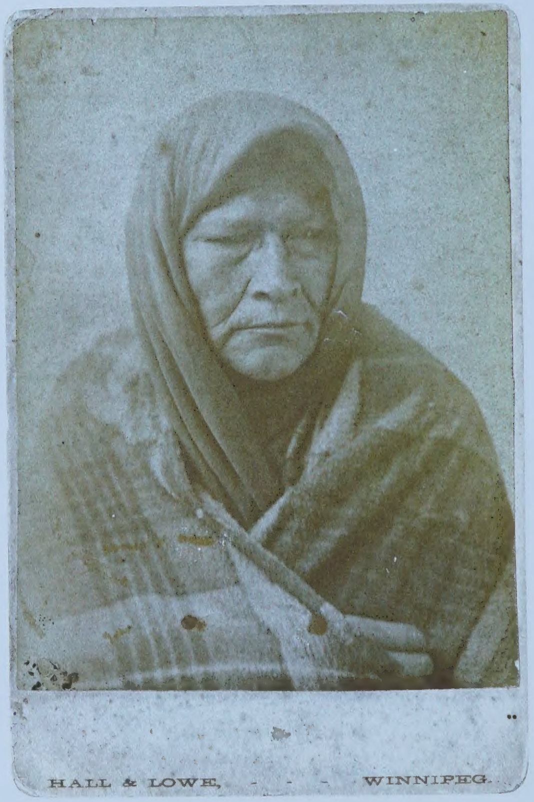
IP164


10
Hall & Lowe,
461 Main Street, - - - - Winnip

IP173


22
Hall & Lowe,
499 Main Street, - - - Winnipeg.

IP172


HALL & LOWE, - - - WINNIPEG.

IP184

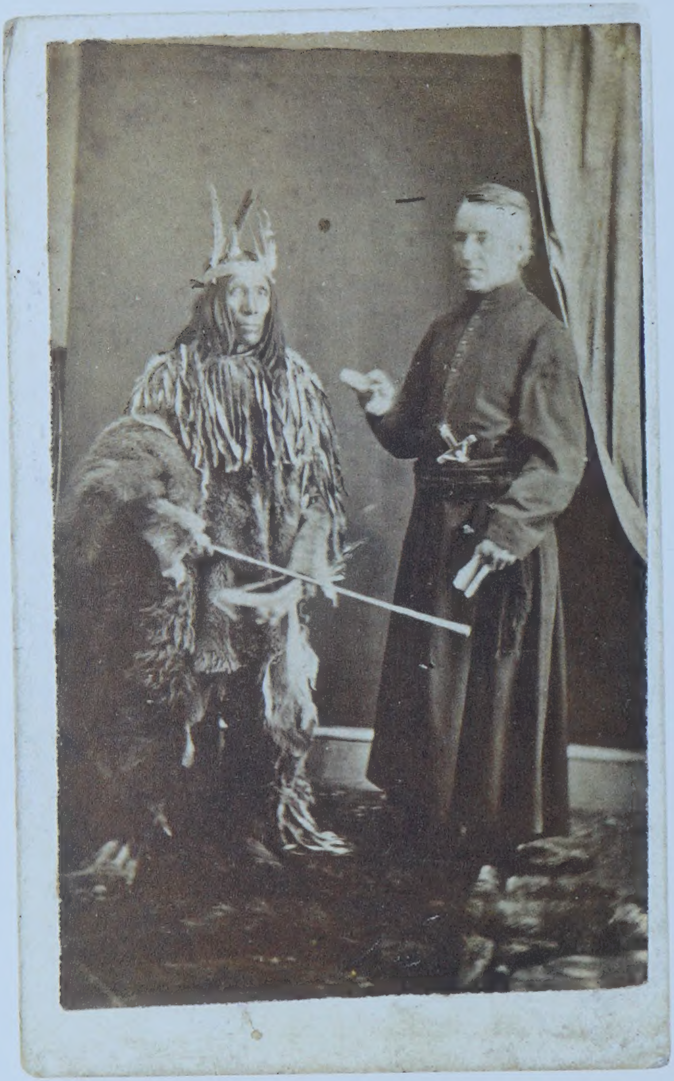
Many of the Hall and Lowe cabinet cards show women with downcast eyes or looking away from the camera. There is a hint of a smile in only one of the cabinet card photographs (IP172).[55] Beatrice Morin, Maskekosihk (Enoch Cree Nation), said of this photograph, "I like that she has a bit of a smile, like Mona Lisa."[56] Commenting on IP184, Beatrice said that the photograph looked familiar, as "that was how our mothers and grandmothers wore their scarves and shawls; they were so beautiful."[57]

opposite page, left

Studio portrait of Indigenous woman wearing a shawl.
Hall & Lowe. Albumen. 14.0 x 10.4 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP172

opposite page, right

Studio portrait of an Indigenous woman wearing shawls.
Hall & Lowe. Albumen. 14.3 x 10.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP184



IP104

Wihkaskokiseyin (Sweetgrass), Nehiyawak Chief, and Father Albert Lacombe

This 1872 photograph (IP104) of the distinguished Nehiyawak leader Wihkaskokiseyin (Sweetgrass) with missionary Father Albert Lacombe was carefully posed to promote the Roman Catholic Church. Wihkaskokiseyin was leader of the Nehiyawak River People whose territory was along the Battle River near Fort Pitt. He gathered a large following through his reputation for bravery in warfare. In 1870 he converted to the Roman Catholic faith and was baptized with the name Abraham by Oblate Father Albert Lacombe.

Photographs portraying the conversion of Indigenous people to Christianity were used by missionaries to "fulfill their promotional and pedagogical mandates."[58] The story of the conversion of Wihkaskokiseyin was frequently told in Catholic literature that praised the work of missionaries, and this conversion was said to be "the conversion that delighted Father Lacombe the most."[59]

With Lacombe, Wihkaskokiseyin visited Saint Boniface in June 1872, where he took his first communion.[60] The photograph dates from that visit. The time was one of great sorrow and hardship due to the smallpox epidemic of 1869 and the scarcity of buffalo. Unease prevailed, as it was learned that the Hudson's Bay Company had presumed to sell Indigenous land to Canada. Wihkaskokiseyin was committed to forging peaceful relations but was forceful in his insistence on Nehiyawak sovereignty and the need for a treaty. In the spring of 1871, he and other prominent chiefs transmitted a message from Edmonton to the lieutenant-governor in Winnipeg stating, "We heard our Lands were sold and we did not like it. We don't want to sell our Lands; it is our property and no one has the right to sell them. Our Country is getting ruined of Fur-Bearing Animals, hitherto our sole support, and now we are poor and want help. We want You to pity us."[61] Wihkaskokiseyin was prominent in the negotiation of Treaty 6 at Fort Pitt, and his is the first mark on the treaty document dated 9 September 1876. He died a few months after signing the document.[62]

opposite page

Carte de visite: Wihkaskokiseyin (Sweetgrass), Chief of the Nehiyawak, with Father Lacombe in St Boniface. J. Penrose.
Albumen. 9.3 x 5.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP104

Mothers, Babies, and Cradleboards

In the collection we found striking photographs of mothers, babies, and cradleboards. Through the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, photographs of Indigenous mothers and their babies were sold commercially as collectible cabinet cards and postcards. These cabinet cards and postcards were circulated at the same time as Indigenous children were being separated from their families and communities and sent to residential schools. Although the cabinet cards and postcards would have appealed to the nostalgia and desires of non-Indigenous viewers, they can also be understood to intervene in stereotypes. Attentive mothers are portrayed, challenging the prevailing misconceptions that sustained the residential school system in Canada.

The early-twentieth-century writer Amelia McLean Paget was fluent in Plains languages, raised in Hudson's Bay Company posts, and had Indigenous ancestry. She interviewed Nehiyawak and Saulteaux Elders for her 1909 book *The People of the Plains*, in which she described mothers and babies, pointing out that "papoose" is the Dakota word for baby, the Nehiyaw word is "Awassis," and the Saulteaux, "Appinochi":

> There surely never were any happier or healthier babies than the little Indian "Awassiah." They actually appeared like little voyageurs from the first days of their existence, so sturdy and jolly were they. Shortly after birth the baby was tied up in the moss-bag, with its pliant wrappings of finely-dressed deerskin and quantities of soft moss, and a stiff leather support for the child's back. They were snug and comfortable in these bags, and safe from injury; and in the wintertime they were protected from the extreme cold by rabbit-skins. The baby in the moss-bag made a compact bundle for the mother to carry on her back, wrapped in her blanket or shawl.
>
> Some of the Indian women used a cradle to tie their babies in, and in the old days the women who had these were looked upon as possessing a luxury.... No contrivance could so well meet the needs of the case. It formed a rigid, compact frame in which the child was held in safety through all the vicissitudes of the

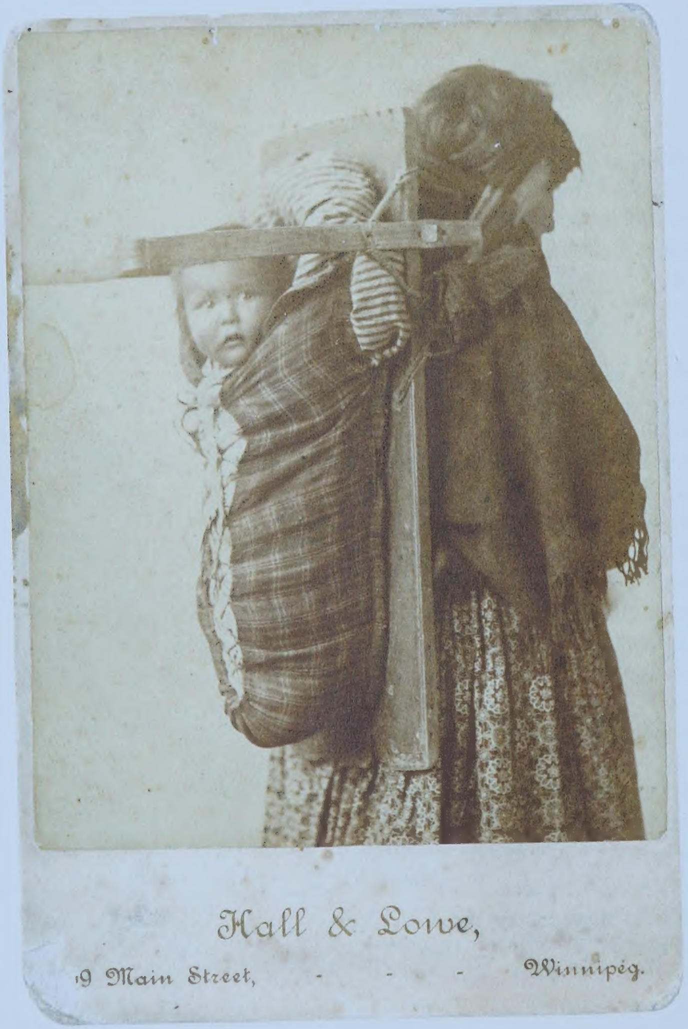
> portage or trail. It could be swung on a tree or leaned against the wigwam, and the bow of wood extending above the child's head protected it from injury.
>
> When the mother wished to carry her child she attached a stout leather strap to the top part of the cradle. This strap she then placed either over her forehead or shoulders, and away she would go, while the babe observed the passing scene or slept peacefully on, as he felt inclined.[63]

The "cradle" described by Paget is the cradleboard, the Nehiyaw term for which is waspisonahtik (waspisonahtikwak - plural) or waspison nayacikan (waspison nayacikana—plural) and the Anishinaabe, tiknaagan (tiknaaganan—plural).

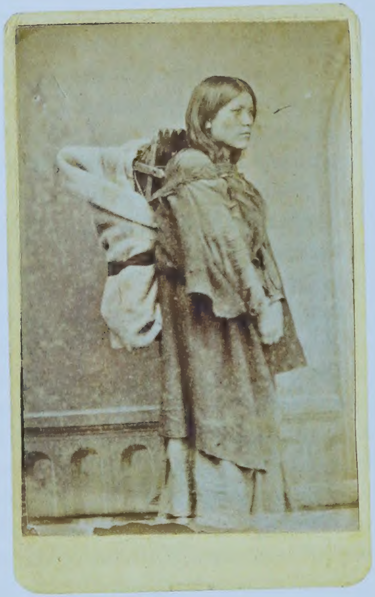
In the photograph on the next page at the left, the waspisonahtik or tiknaagan (IP174), with moss bag laced to the frame, is in a style made and used by Nehiyaw and Anishinaabe mothers. The photograph is from the Winnipeg studio of Hall and Lowe and dates from the 1880s. The curved bow near the top, which doubles as a handle, is a classic feature of the waspisonahtik or tiknaagan. It protects the baby if the waspisonahtik or tiknaagan should fall over with the infant inside, which would be a rare event as a footboard near the base provides stability when the waspisonahtik or tiknaagan is placed upright on the ground. Attached straps or tumpline allow women to carry the waspisonahtik or tiknaagan against their backs.

Curator Emeritus Indigenous Studies, Susan Berry notes that

> Cradleboards complement an active way of life.[64] When strapped to mother's back, they free her hands; when set against a tree or tipi pole or hung from a branch, they allow the mother to move about without impediment. A waspisonahtik or tiknaagan could be packed on a horse or carried in a canoe. The baby is tucked snugly inside, wrapped in blanketing or rabbit fur, with fresh sphagnum moss packed in as replaceable, biodegradable and absorbent diaper material. The baby is laced in, as in photo 174.


Hall & Lowe,
9 Main Street, - - - Winnipeg.

IP174



IP107

Waspisonahtik or tiknaagan also promote a baby's well-being. A baby in a waspisonahtik or tiknaagan spends a lot of time upright—this is a safe position for a baby [65] and, according to some health experts, may help prevent SIDS (sudden infant death syndrome).[66] Morever, a baby so-nestled against her mother's back is more fully integrated into social life, seeing and hearing those around her, than is the case for a baby laid down in a crib or baby carriage. Babies start out on day one to learn by observing others, sensing immediately that they are part of their community and receiving all kinds of stimuli.

On the facing page at the right (IP107) is one of the photographs that remind the Elders of the purpose of waspisonahtikwak or tiknaaganan: to free up the hands of the mothers. In this image, the young mother looks serene, and, as Elder Beatrice Morin commented, it must have been cold, as the mother and child are all bundled up.[67] A Hudson's Bay Company blanket covers the waspisonahtik or tiknaagan.

opposite page, left

Studio portrait of Indigenous woman with a baby in a cradleboard.
Hall & Lowe. Albumen. 13.6 x 10.4 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP174

opposite page, right

Carte de visite: young Indigenous woman with cradleboard and blanket on her back.
Duffin & Caswell. Albumen. 9.0 cm x 5.9 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP107

opposite page, left

Carte de visite: Indigenous family with baby on cradleboard.
Duffin & Co. Albumen. 9.0 x 5.9 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP110

opposite page, right

One of a series of photographs of Indigenous women and children in a camp setting, Morley, in present-day Alberta.
Gelatin silver print. 10.1 x 6.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP228

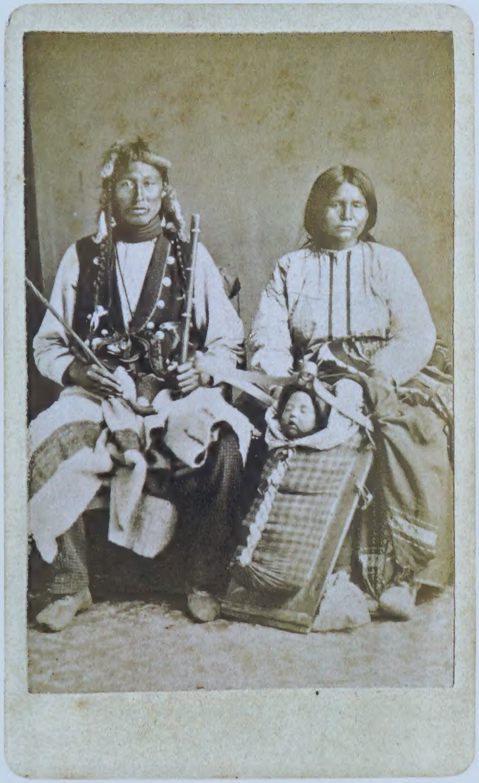
In the photograph of a family on the facing page at the left (IP110), Elders noted how soundly the baby is sleeping. The soundly sleeping baby speaks to other reasons for waspisonahtikwak or tiknaaganan, which were designed to keep babies wrapped tightly to provide comfort, safety, and warmth. They demonstrated the care for, and celebration of, new life. Other observations made about this photograph included that the woman is wearing a ribbon skirt and the man's vest has brass buttons. The kerchief wrapped around the man's neck reminded Josephine Buffalo that many men wore kerchiefs that way right until the mid-twentieth century.[68]

Susan Berry continues,

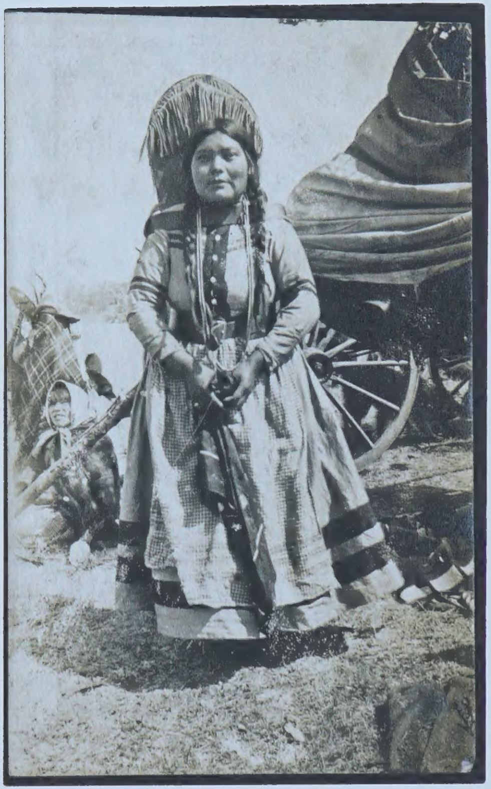
> Wapisonahtikwak or tiknaaganan are crafted by specialists. In the past, men generally carved and painted the wooden frames, while women sewed the moss bags and embroidered them with beads or silk thread. Today, though, the work is not so gender-specific. People definitely still create, use and treasure wapisonahtikwak or tiknaaganan. Individuals who make them often follow a process that includes prayers of thanks and of hope for the children.[69]

Only the upper back part of the cradleboard is visible in the photograph on the facing page at the right (IP228). Susan Berry believes it may be of Plateau origin (Nimiipuu/Nez Perce, Ktunaxa/Kutenai, possibly Shoshone), judging by the large rounded shape visible in the photo and the hide fringe trim. Even if the cradleboard is of Plateau origin, the women in the photo might be Niitsitapiisini, Tsuut'ina, or even Nakoda. Plateau-style cradleboards were a popular trade object in Plains-Plateau trade relations.

Some of the waspisonahtikwak or tiknaaganan are beautifully decorated (IP175, page 43 and IP181, page 45). The tikinagan in IP175 on page 43 is reminiscent of Anishinaabe work.[70] Others are hard to see as they are wrapped in blankets (IP211, page 44).



IP110



IP228

opposite page, left

Studio portrait of Indigenous woman with a baby in a floral tiknaagan.
Hall & Lowe. Albumen. 13.4 x 10.4 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP175

opposite page, right

Studio portrait of Indigenous infant.
Hand coloured. 40.8 x 51.1 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
IP284

following double-page spread, left

Nehiyaw woman with children and dogs in front of a tipi.
William Notman. Albumen. 17.5 x 23.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP211

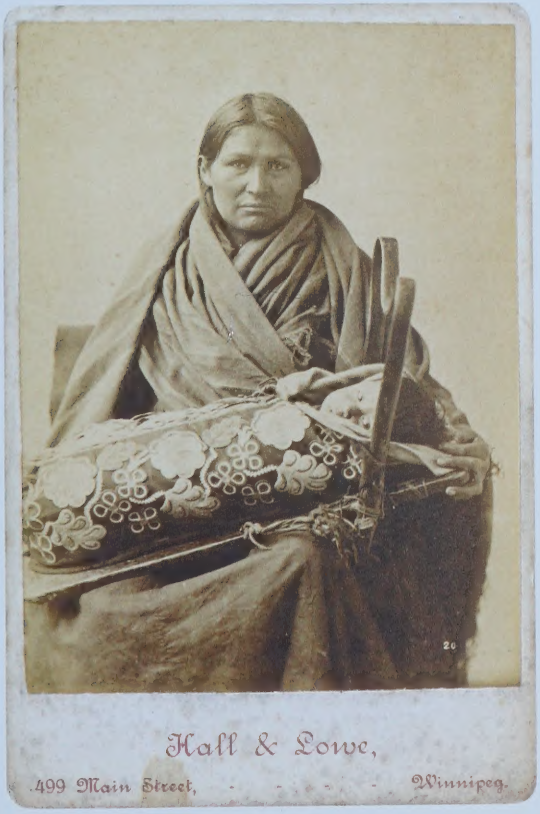
following double-page spread, right

Indigenous woman in camp with a baby in a decorated waspisonahtik.
Gelatin silver print. 24.4 cm x 19.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP181

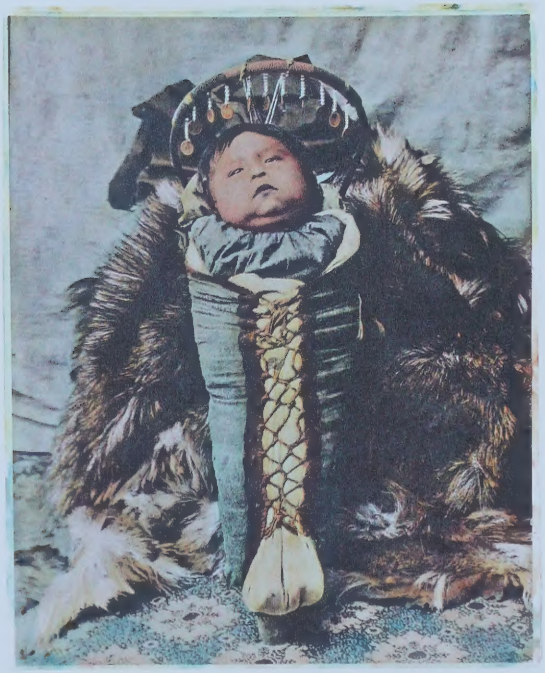
Curator at the National Gallery of Canada Alexandra Kahsenni:io Nahwegahbow speaks of the conceptual protection and enduring meaning embodied in waspisonahtikwak and tiknaaganan:

> [M]any Anishinaabe mothers carefully adorned the coverings of their child's cradleboards with powerful beaded or painted designs, which served to protect and offer security to the baby wrapped within.... In nurturing an infant's feeling of safety through the thoughtful ornamentation of their cradle, mothers and grandmothers conveyed the value of the child's place within the family, community, and madjimadzuin—the moving life-line.... Although a family's creation of a tikinaagan represents the beginning of one new life, the practice of crafting and passing it down also celebrates the life of deep continuity, one that is collective, communal, and ancestral.... The meaning embodied in these family belongings does not arise out of their content alone, but emerges from the context of relational renewal that stirred their very making and use.[71]

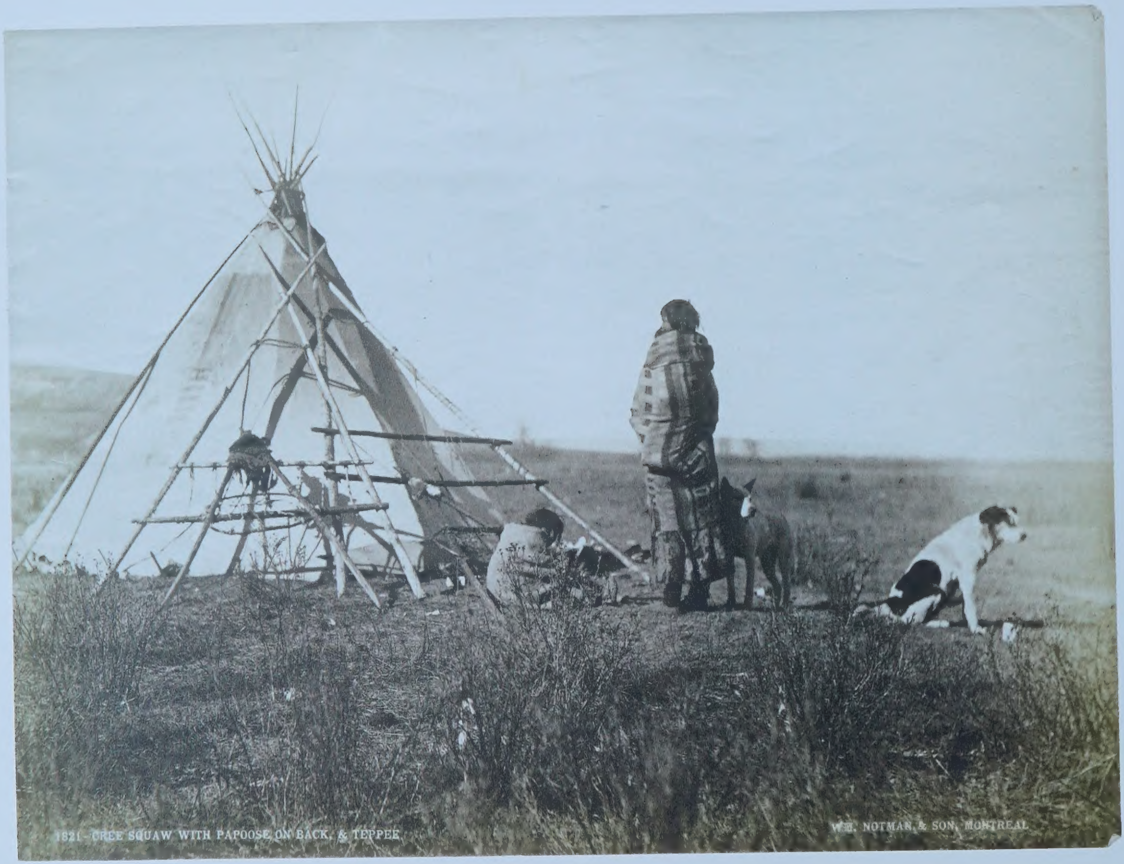
Symbols, designs, and colours on waspisonahtikwak or tiknaaganan, and the techniques used in their application were meant to physically and spiritually protect and bless a child. Infants were carried in these for up to one year. The tinted and enlarged photograph (IP284) of an infant in a waspisonahtik or tiknaagan displays the skill of the woman who made it. The tartan fabric as shown in IP174 on page 38 was popular in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Catherine Oberholtzer, who calls the waspisonahtik or tiknaagan a "womb with a view," has speculated that tartan fabric was favoured for use in making moss bags because the interwoven colours "perform in the metaphoric protection of the infant"[72] that is comparable to the protective powers inherent in traditional Anishinaabe and Nehiyaw netted fabrics. "From the vantage point of the tikanagan the child acquires his or her identity as both an individual and as a responsible member of the ... culture. This sense of identity wraps around the infant like a security blanket."[73]


20
Hall & Lowe,
499 Main Street, - - - - - Winnipeg.

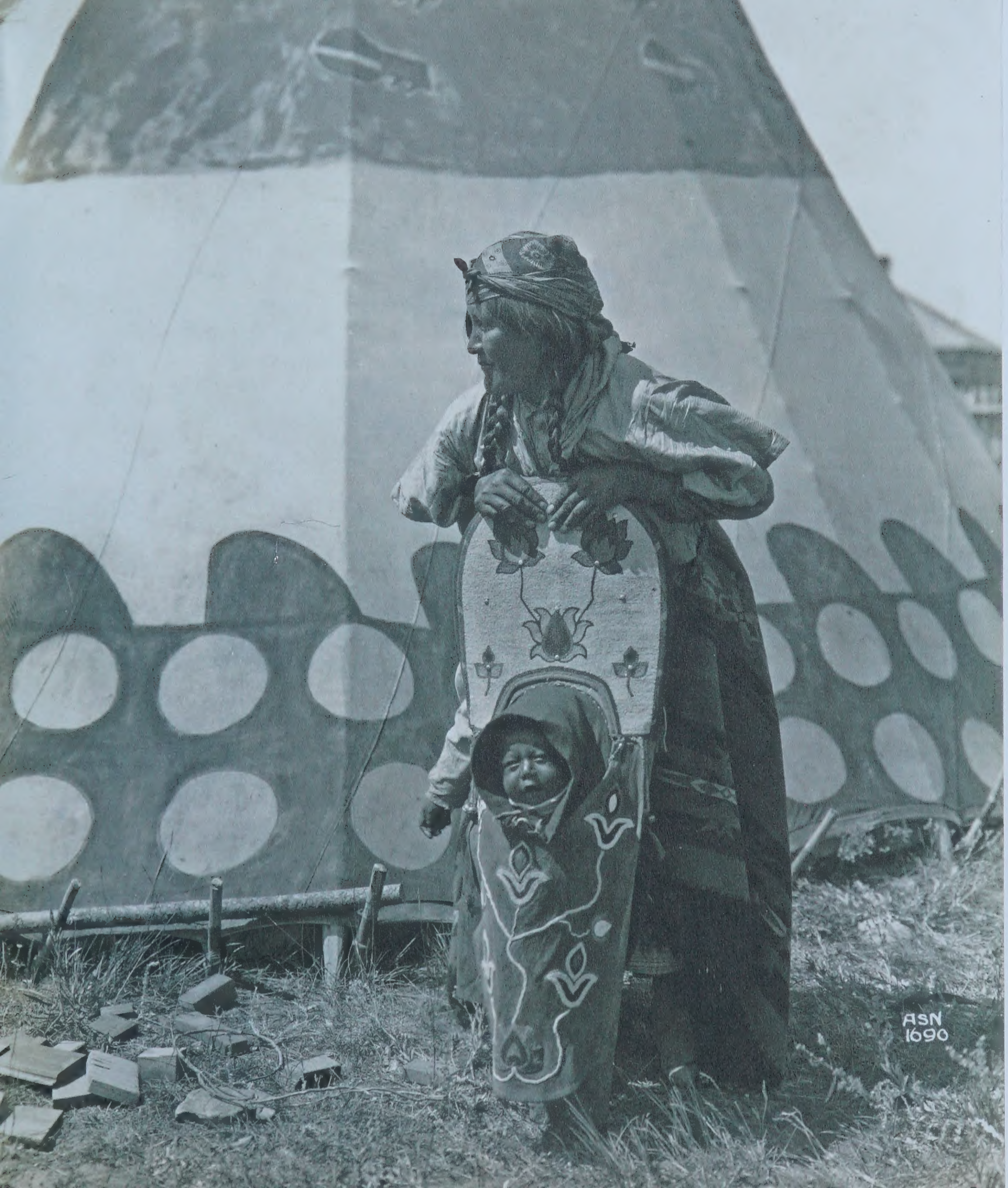
IP175



IP284


1821 - CREE SQUAW WITH PAPOOSE ON BACK, & TEPPEE
W.M. NOTMAN & SON, MONTREAL

IP211



IP181

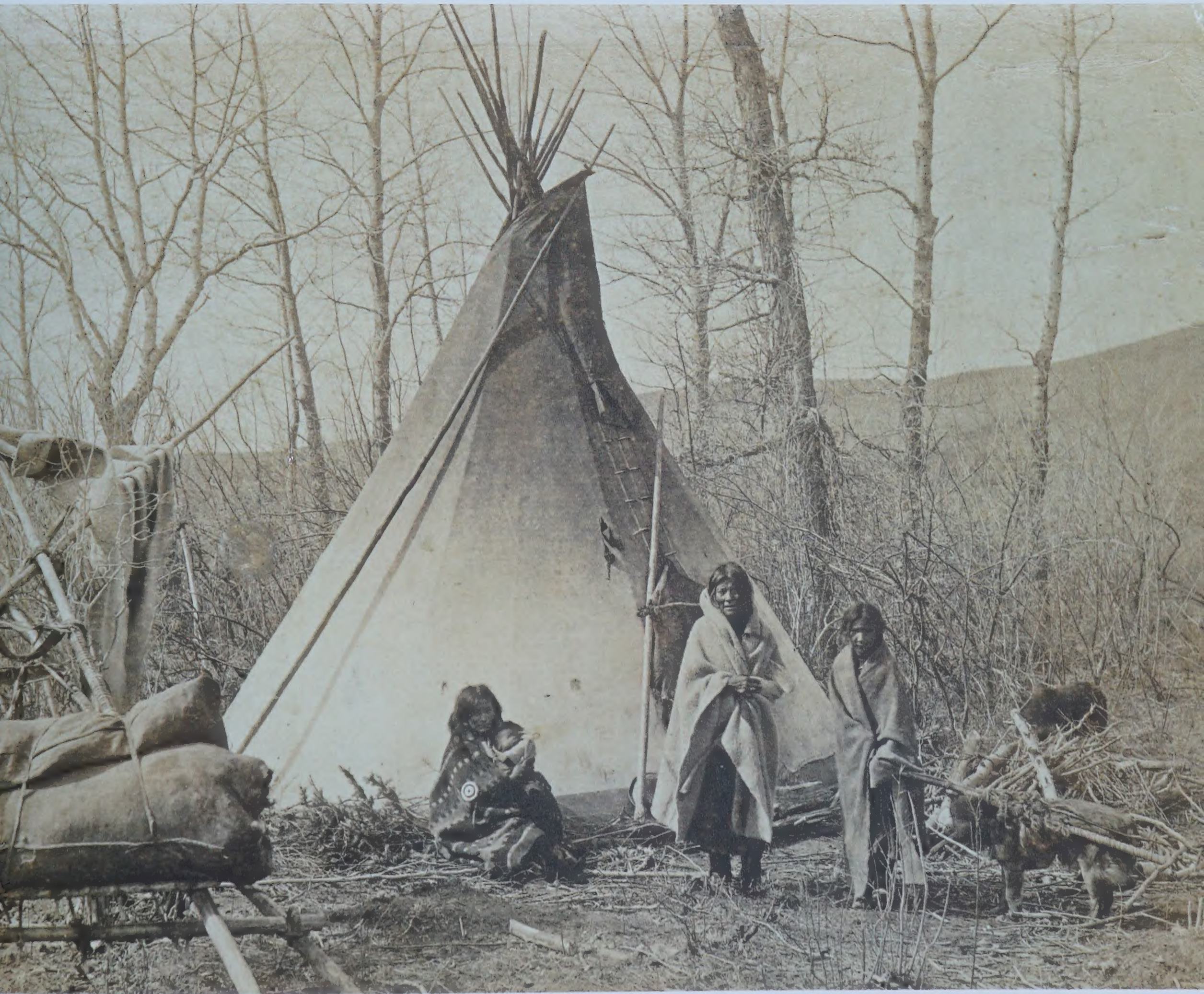
opposite page

Micakiu and Mucayiomoxin Otokeman, Tsuut'ina women in camp (same as IP235).
Boorne & May. Albumen. 17.6 x 23.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP085

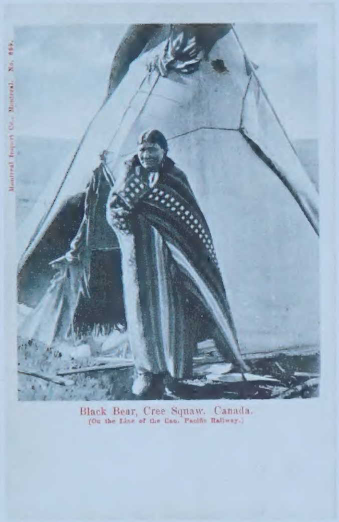
Women and Children

Elders frequently drew our attention to the powerful images of women, often with children, in the photographs in the collection. The images in the photographs reminded them of their own female ancestors who were essential to the physical and cultural survival of communities. Elders also noticed that the photographs act as records of the jewelry, clothing, ceremonial attire, and everyday lives of their ancestors.

The Tsuut'ina women in this photograph (IP085) are identified as Micakiu and Mucayiomoxin Otokeman (although a Tsuut'ina speaker stated that the names are recorded in either Siksikawaapohsiin or Nehiyawewin, Algonquian languages, and not in Tsuut'ina, an Athabaskan language).[74] Beatrice Morin liked this photograph as it depicted a daily scene, including hides being aired out on a tripod and a dog hauling wood, which reminded her of the fact that they had their own breed of dogs.[75]



IP085


Montreal Import Co., Montreal. No.
Black Bear, Cree Squaw. Canada.
(On the Line of the Can. Pacific Railway.)

PC009735

above

Published by Montreal Import Co., this postcard pictures Kaskitew Maskwa (or Kuskita au Musqua) or Black Bear.
Wm Notman & Son. Postcard. 13.8 x 8.9 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC009735

opposite page

Kaskitew Maskwa (Black Bear), a Nehiyaw woman, Calgary. The subject is identified in pencil on verso (postcard PC009735 in Peel's Prairie Provinces database).
Wm Notman & Son. Albumen. 23.6 x 18.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP088

The photograph on the opposite page (IP088) was used to create the postcard (Peel postcard 9735) of a Nehiyaw woman, Kaskitew Maskwa "Black Bear," circa 1890. Beatrice Morin said, "She looks like a matriarch, a powerful image."[76] Josephine Buffalo was interested in her jewelry saying, "our kokoms used to wear those necklaces and earrings." Necklaces made of black beads, "kaskitew miksa,"[77] were recognized as signs of privilege within the Indigenous community. They appear in many of the photographs in this exhibition. The woman in this photograph wears only one moccasin. Both Marvin Littlechild and Josephine Buffalo thought this to be a sign of grief, "E si-kahot." Josephine further remarked about Kaskitew Maskwa, "she looks sad."[78]

William F. Notman was the photographer who produced the photograph. He made many trips to the West between 1884 and 1909, and the CPR used his photographs from the West to promote settlement and tourism.[79] The postcard created from the image in the photograph was produced in Montreal, where Notman had his studio.

The women and children in the photographs on page 50 (IP229 and IP231) are Stoney Nakoda from Morley, near Banff. Beatrice Morin said of IP231, this "is home for me;" "I could see myself as a kid here. They would unhitch the horses and make a shade for us."[80] She remembered the plaid, wool shawls and the shell earrings, as are worn in both of these photographs. As can be seen in IP231 (page 50), not everyone wanted to have their photo taken, believing that this would take their "soul" spirit away.

IP088

right, above

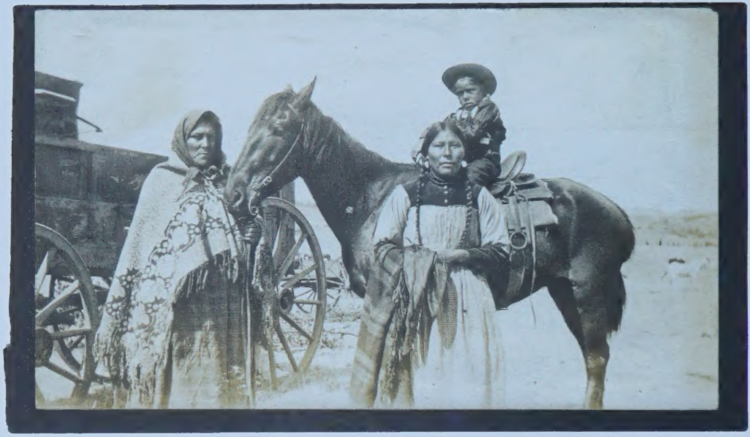
One of a series of photographs of Indigenous women and children in a camp setting, Morley, in present-day Alberta.
Gelatin silver print. 6.2 x 10.1 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP229

right, below

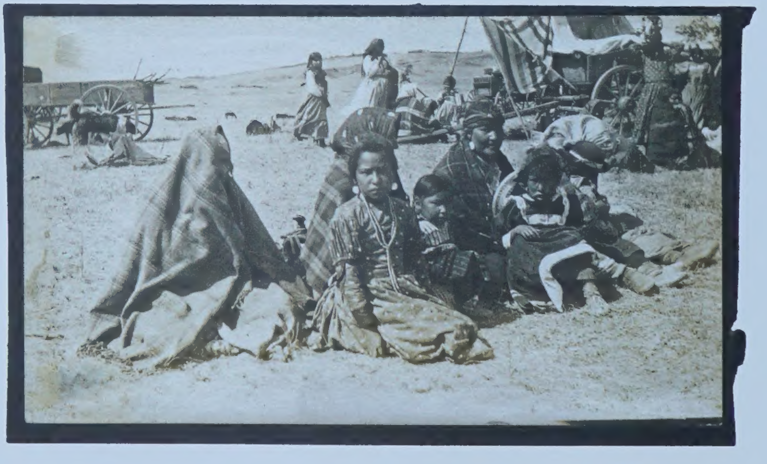
One of a series of photographs of Indigenous women and children in a camp setting, Morley, in present-day Alberta.
Gelatin silver print. 6.2 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP231

opposite page

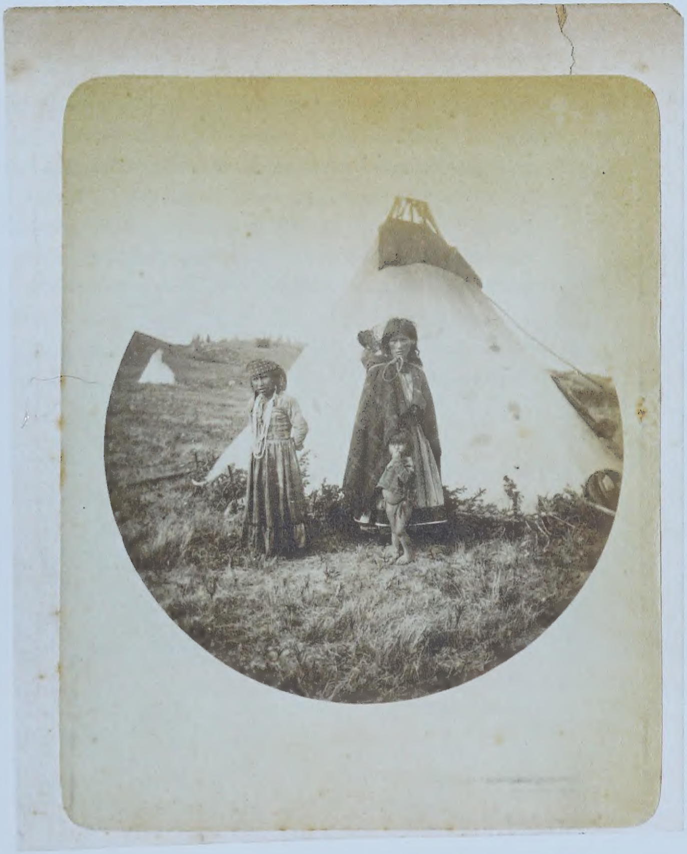
Indigenous women and children standing in front of a tipi.
Gelatin silver print, taken with an early Kodak Camera, c.1890. 10.7 x 8.7 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP150



IP229



IP231



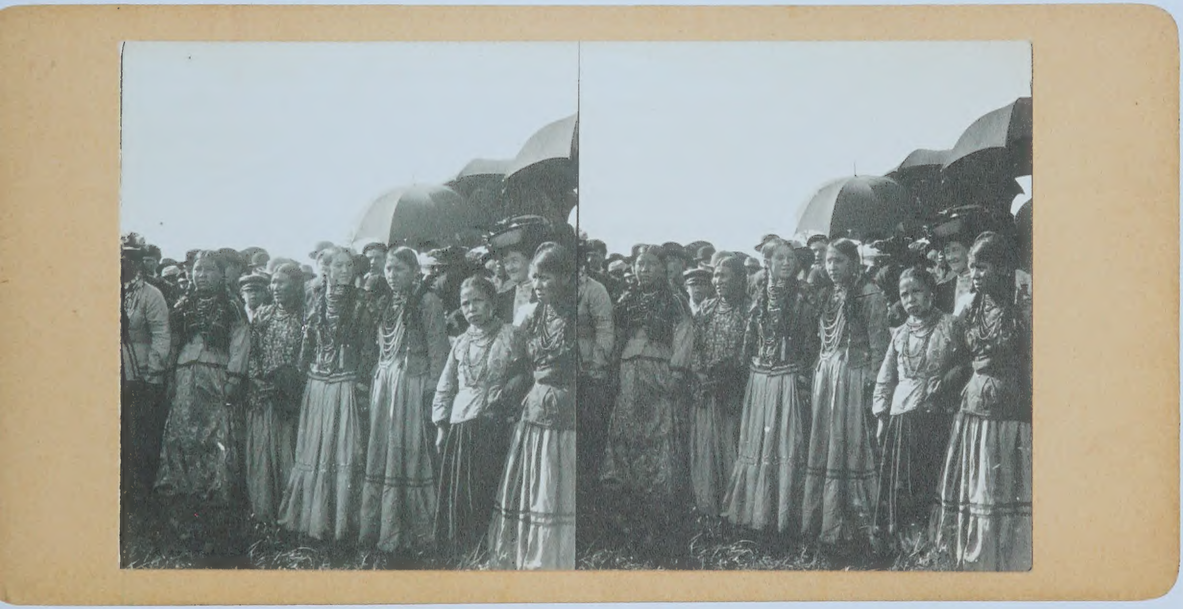
IP150

opposite page

Indigenous women in ribbon skirts standing in front of a large gathering.
Gelatin silver print. 8.8 x 17.8 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP266

The photograph on the previous page (IP150) was taken near Banff with a Kodak camera, as its characteristic circle reveals. Kodak cameras made it possible to take photographs that were less staged and contrived than those taken by other cameras of the time. Rick Lightning commented that this photograph depicts a "real camp setting."[81] The women seem small in stature and the canvas tipi does not appear to be very large. The smaller woman, perhaps an adolescent, is wearing a beaded necklace, and both women have ribbons on the bottom of their skirts.

The stereograph (IP266) on the facing page provides amazing detail on ribbon skirts, beads, and other features of women's ceremonial attire. Some fashion trends have persevered over time. Although the necklaces identified by Josephine Buffalo as "kaskitew miksa" and the similar necklaces made from metal, "piwakskomna,"[82] have not been seen since these photographs were taken, Josephine still remembers their importance. The ribbon skirts have made a huge comeback within the last decade and are now worn throughout the Indigenous community for ceremony, song, presentations, and dance.



IP266

Tȟatȟánka Íyotake (Sitting Bull) and the Lakota Peoples

The photographs in this section represent some of the ancestors of the Wood Mountain Lakota community (in present-day Saskatchewan). Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake and his Lakota followers defeated Colonel George Custer in 1876 at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in present-day Montana. They then sought the right to remain north of the forty-ninth parallel, congregating around Wood Mountain and Fort Walsh in present-day Saskatchewan. They stayed until 1881 when Canada refused to grant them a reserve. A small reserve was granted to the Canadian Lakota at Wood Mountain in 1918.

The men in this photograph (IP102) are generally identified as Chief Šúŋka Háŋska (Long Dog) and George Wills.[83] Wills was a member of the Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) who served from 1876 to 1881, when he was dishonourably discharged. Šúŋka Háŋska was a Hunkpapa (Húŋkpapȟa) leader, who crossed the border in late 1876. He was one of the Lakota leaders who met with James M. Walsh of the NWMP in December 1876 at Wood Mountain and who said "their Grandfathers had told them that they would find peace in the land of the British."[84]

The photograph is attributed to Englishman George Anderton, who served with the NWMP and was stationed at Fort Walsh from 1876. Discharged in 1879, Anderton established a short-lived photography business in the small townsite by Fort Walsh from that year. Marrying a woman from the Kainai (Blood) First Nations, Anderton has descendants in that community today.

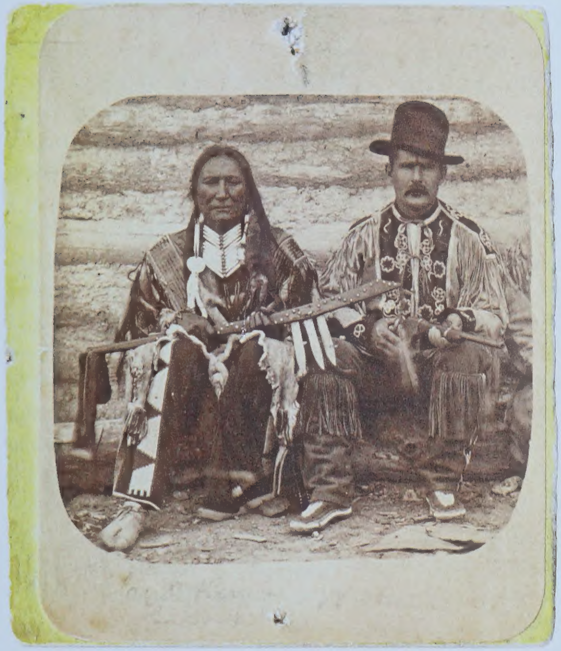
Originally produced as a one-of-a-kind tintype, the image was later reproduced as a stereograph card by Anderton. It is a rare and unique image because at this time there was no photography studio between Winnipeg and British Columbia and photography was the domain of itinerant photographers. This image appears casually posed, but it also suggests some studio-like preparation and contrivances. Anderton's photographs were taken outdoors, with natural light only, and often with the same backdrop of a whitewashed log building. They are tintypes, and they are "improvised, slapdash, rough-and-ready" in contrast to carefully-posed studio photographs.[85]

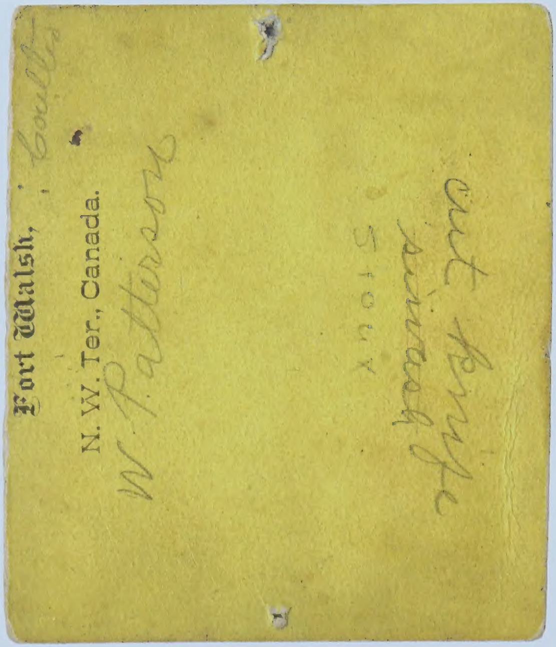
opposite page, left

Lakota Chief Šúŋka Háŋska (Long Dog) and George Wills of the NWMP, Fort Walsh, 1879.
George Anderton. Albumen. 7.2 x 7.4 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP102

opposite page, right

Verso. **TR 681 I58 I64 IP102**





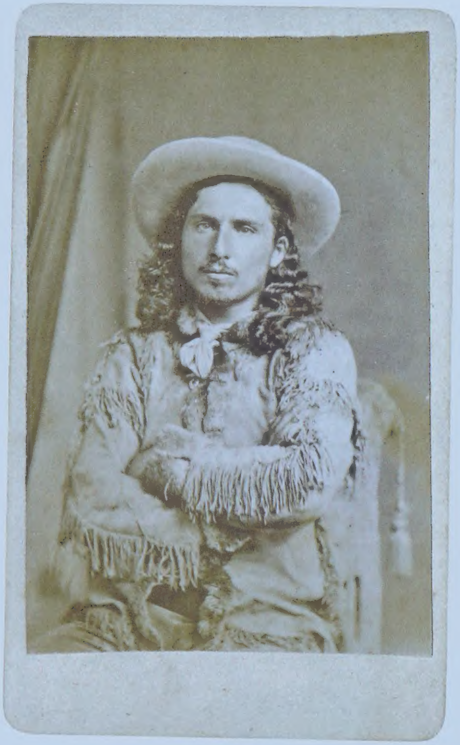
Fort Walsh, Coulter

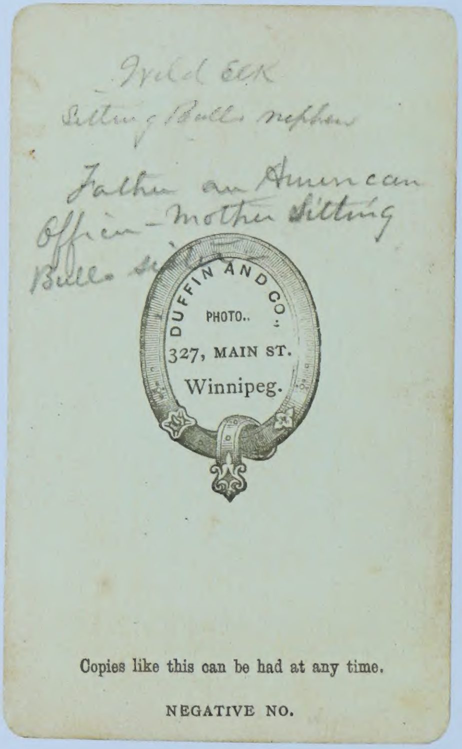
N. W. Ter., Canada.

W Patterson

cut knife
siwash
SIOUX

IP102





Wild Elk
Sitting Bulls nephew

Father an American
Officer – Mother Sitting
Bulls si

DUFFIN AND CO.,
PHOTO.,
327, MAIN ST.
Winnipeg.

Copies like this can be had at any time.

NEGATIVE NO.

IP106

The beaded jacket worn by Wills was the same beaded jacket worn by other members of the NWMP who posed with Indigenous people; so it may have been a studio prop. Anderton photographed Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake, and doing so helped to launch his career as a photographer, as there was great curiosity about and fear and condemnation of the Lakota leader following the Battle of the Little Bighorn where Colonel George Custer was killed.[86]

On one side of the back of this photograph (IP102 verso) is stamped "Fort Walsh, N.W. Ter., Canada," and written under the stamp is "W. Patterson." On the other side is written, "Cut Knife"; under that, "siwash"; and under that, "sioux." The term "siwash" (a derogatory term used by traders and settlers for a West Coast First Nation) would not be correct, demonstrating the challenges of sorting out what is reliable and what is not in the descriptions attached to historic photographs after many years, sellers, and owners.

The NWMP, who famously "marched west" in 1874, desired photographs of Indigenous people as souvenirs or to send home to families and friends as illustrations of their lives of adventure and derring-do. These photographs would also promote the NWMP as purveyors of an enlightened, superior civilization and justice system. In some of the photographs in which they appear with Indigenous people, members of the NWMP pose wearing the much-desired "frontier" attire of beaded buckskin.

Penciled on the back of the photograph on the facing page (IP106) are the words "Wild Elk, Sitting Bull's nephew. Father an American Officer—Mother Sitting Bull's sister." While it is not certain that the man in the photograph was a nephew of the famous chief, he was among the Lakota who followed Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake to Canada. The photograph is stamped on the back "Duffin and Co., 327, Main Street," and there is no doubt that this man is Wild Elk (Hayechangha Wahtah Watogaloa). An American journalist described him during her visit to Winnipeg in 1879, being particularly interested in his hair:

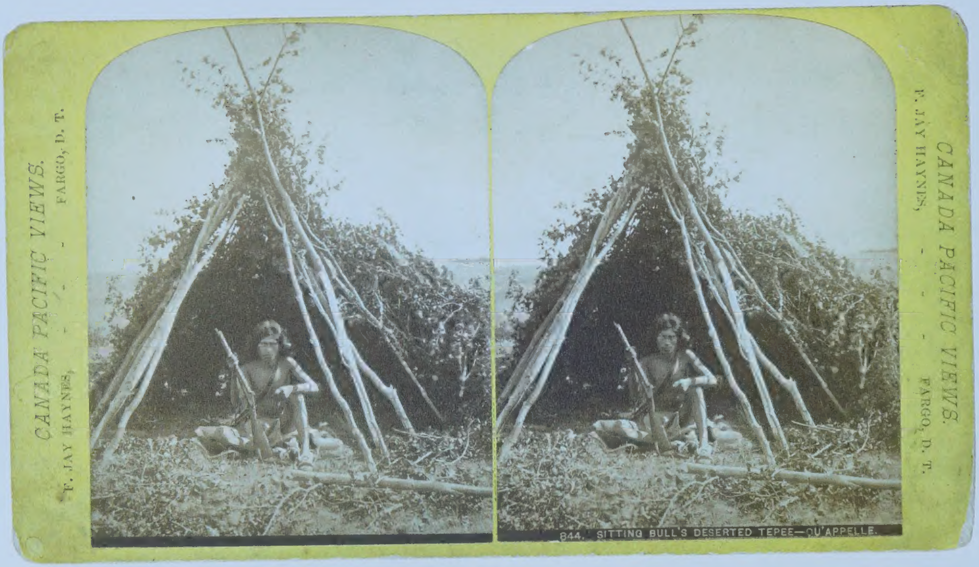
> Many of the men crimp their hair by braiding it tight and afterward combing it out. The nephew of Sitting Bull, Wild Elk...had his profuse black hair arranged

opposite page, left

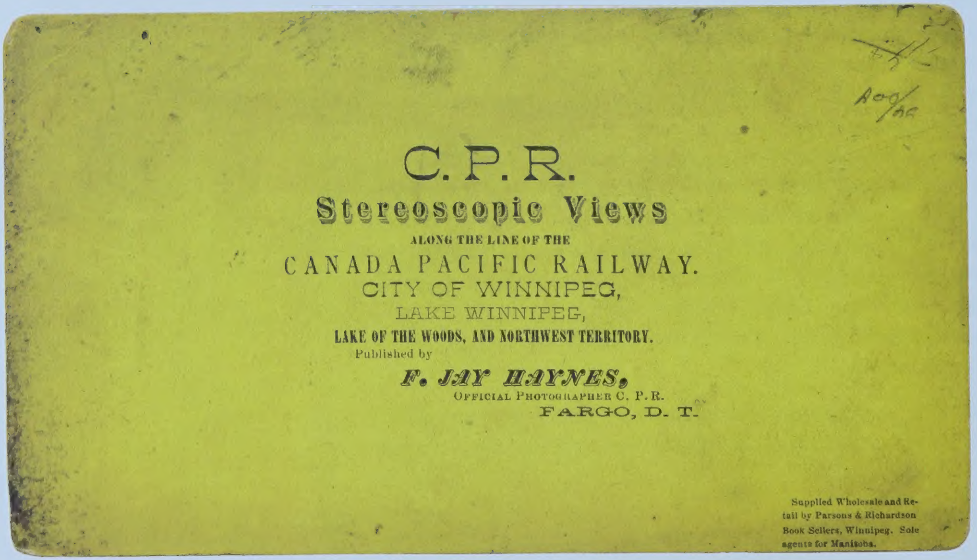
Carte de visite: Lakota man Hayechangha Watah Watogaloa (Wild Elk) who advocated for the rights of his people to stay in Canada. Duffin & Co. Albumen. 8.9 x 5.9 cm. Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP106

opposite page, right

Verso. **TR 681 I58 I64 IP106**


CANADA PACIFIC VIEWS.
F. JAY HAYNES, - - - FARGO, D. T.
844. SITTING BULL'S DESERTED TEPEE—QU'APPELLE.
CANADA PACIFIC VIEWS.
F. JAY HAYNES, - - - FARGO, D. T.

IP163



C. P. R.

Stereoscopic Views

ALONG THE LINE OF THE
CANADA PACIFIC RAILWAY.
CITY OF WINNIPEG,
LAKE WINNIPEG,
LAKE OF THE WOODS, AND NORTHWEST TERRITORY.
Published by
F. JAY HAYNES,
OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER C. P. R.
FARGO, D. T.

Supplied Wholesale and Retail by Parsons & Richardson Book Sellers, Winnipeg. Sole agents for Manitoba.

> artistically in masses of long, glossy curls.... This young man is remarkably intelligent, besides being a classical scholar, having been educated at the Jesuit mission-schools.... He has come down from his far-away home at Wood Mountain Post to enter into negotiations...for the return of Sitting Bull.[87]

In May of 1879, Wild Elk wrote a letter (see page 61) to the Minister of the Interior from Fort Qu'Appelle asking for help for the Lakota. He waited for a reply in Winnipeg, where this photograph was taken. The letter from Wild Elk was taken seriously by Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada and Minister of the Interior, who wrote a lengthy memorandum urging the Lakota to take immediate steps to return to the United States "as the only alternative to prevent the death by starvation of themselves, their wives and their children."[88] On 30 July 1879 Wild Elk was sent an official reply to the effect that "the Gov't cannot afford the slightest aid to the Sioux..." and they could not expect to ever make permanent homes on Canadian soil.[89]

Looking at how Wild Elk signed his name in the letter reproduced on the following page, Lakota speakers have confirmed that the word "Watogala" (wathoglo) definitely means wild, but the Lakota word for elk is hehaka (heȟáka), so maybe the handwritten word is trying to phonetically spell it out another way and maybe there is a "k" on the end that is obscured by the next word. The "Wakah" inserted in the middle is probably supposed to be "wakȟaŋ," as in to be holy or mysterious.[90]

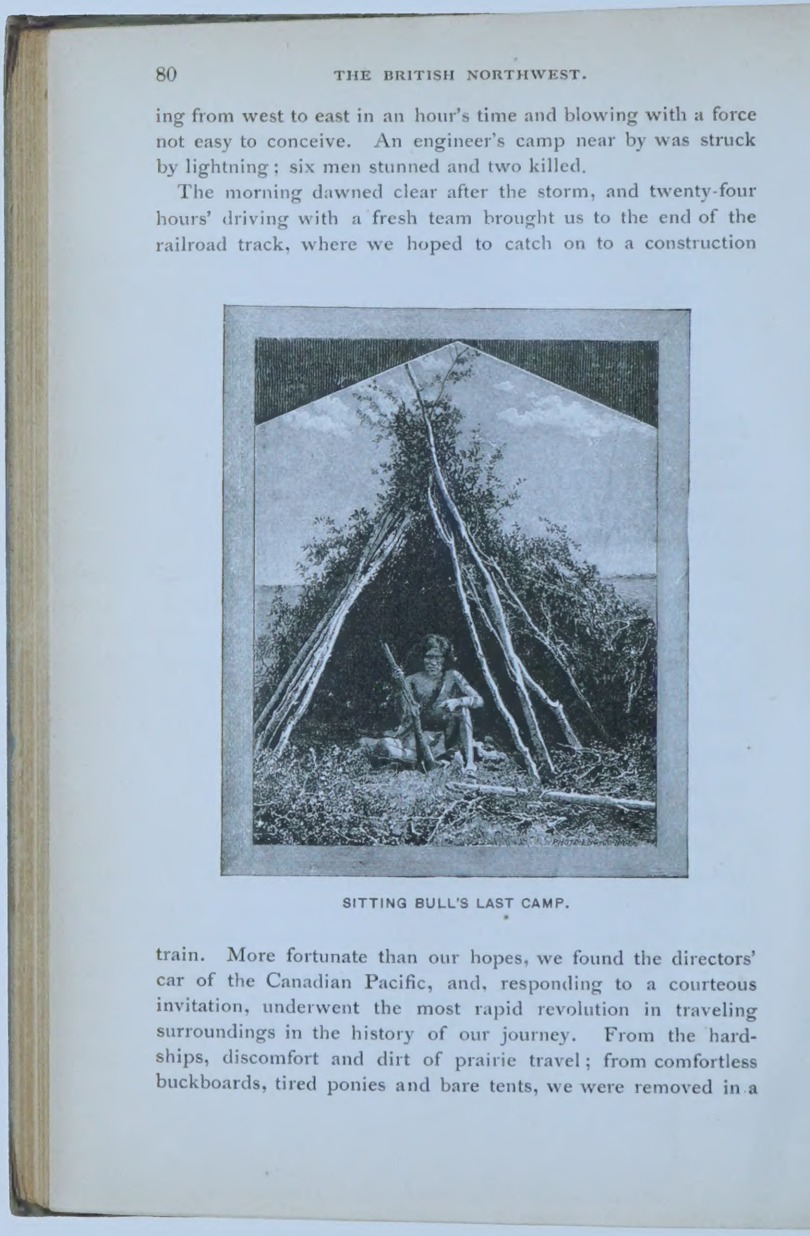
An image titled "Sitting Bull's Deserted Teepee—Qu'Appelle" (IP163) was circulated as a stereograph (facing page) and later appeared as a book illustration (page 60). In late May of 1881, the Lakota Chief Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake, accompanied by thirty-eight lodges of his Lakota followers, visited Fort Qu'Appelle, camping near the Hudson's Bay Company post.[91] There he met with Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner, and Colonel Allan Macdonald, Indian Agent, and asked to remain "in my Mother's [Queen Victoria's] country" because "the People–who-wear–the–Cap [the Americans]...have pushed me and stolen my country."[92] The Lakota were told they would not be granted a reserve and were advised to return to the USA. Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake did return across the border, surrendering at Fort Buford, North Dakota on 19 July 1881.

opposite page, above

Stereograph: one of a series of "CPR stereoscopic views," titled "Sitting Bull's Deserted Teepee—Qu'Appelle."
F. Jay Haynes. Albumen. 9.7 x 15.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP163

opposite page, below

Verso. **TR 681 I58 I64 IP163**



80 THE BRITISH NORTHWEST.

ing from west to east in an hour's time and blowing with a force not easy to conceive. An engineer's camp near by was struck by lightning; six men stunned and two killed.

The morning dawned clear after the storm, and twenty-four hours' driving with a fresh team brought us to the end of the railroad track, where we hoped to catch on to a construction train. More fortunate than our hopes, we found the directors' car of the Canadian Pacific, and, responding to a courteous invitation, underwent the most rapid revolution in traveling surroundings in the history of our journey. From the hardships, discomfort and dirt of prairie travel; from comfortless buckboards, tired ponies and bare tents, we were removed in a

SITTING BULL'S LAST CAMP.

right

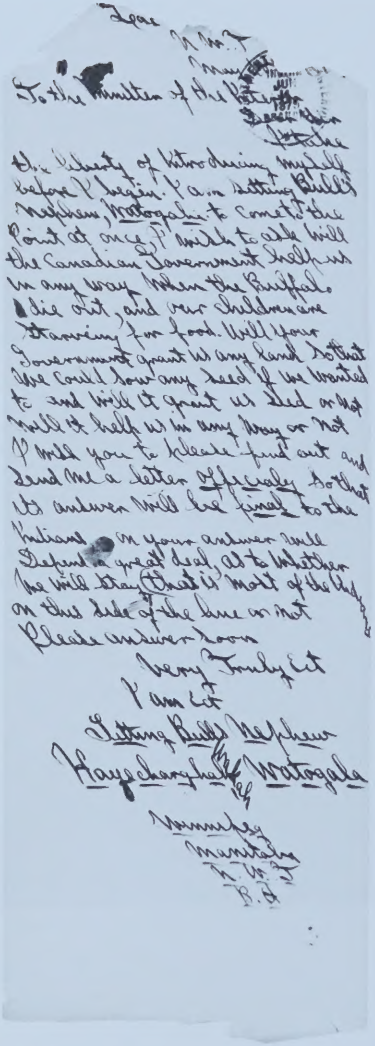
A young Nehiyawak man was asked by the photographer E. Jay Haynes to pose in front of what Haynes decided he would claim was Sitting Bull's lodge. Anonymous [Frank Austin Carle]. *The British Northwest: Pen and Sun Sketches in the Canadian Wheat Lands.* St. Paul: Pioneer Press Publishers, 1882. 80. Bruce Peel Special Collections **FC 3205.2 C27 1882**

opposite page

Hayechangha Wahtah Watogaloa (Wild Elk) to Minister of the Interior (John A. Macdonald), May 1879. In this letter Wild Elk states that he is Sitting Bull's nephew and asks if the Lakota could expect help from the Canadian government.
Document: Letter from Watogala to the Minister of the Interior, 15 May, 1879.
Source: Library and Archives Canada/RG10, Volume: 3691, Microfilm reel: C-10121, e007680299

Taken 24 July 1881, just several days after Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake surrendered to American authorities, the photograph (IP163) on page 58 is by American photographer Frank Jay Haynes, who was based in Fargo, North Dakota and was employed by the CPR to promote the Canadian West and entice settlers there. (On the back of the photograph, Haynes is advertised as "official photographer C.P.R.") It was important to show that there was no "threat" from the Lakota, a message conveyed by the photograph. Journalist F.A. Carle accompanied Haynes on his photographic travels, and he described how and when this photograph was taken. The two men found the deserted camp of the Lakota with the frame of only one lodge standing. They decided it was Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake's (without any evidence), and they knew it would be saleable to pitch the photograph as such. They asked a young Nehiyawak man to pose in front of the deserted lodge.[93]

The photograph was one of a series of stereoscopic views taken by Haynes. Later, the image in the photograph appeared in Carle's book published in 1882, *The British Northwest: Pen and Sun Sketches in the Canadian Wheat Lands.* Captioned "Sitting Bull's Last Camp" in the book, the image of the deserted lodge of the Lakota chief symbolized the passing of an era and the beginning of the "Westward March of Emigration" predicted in the book.[94]

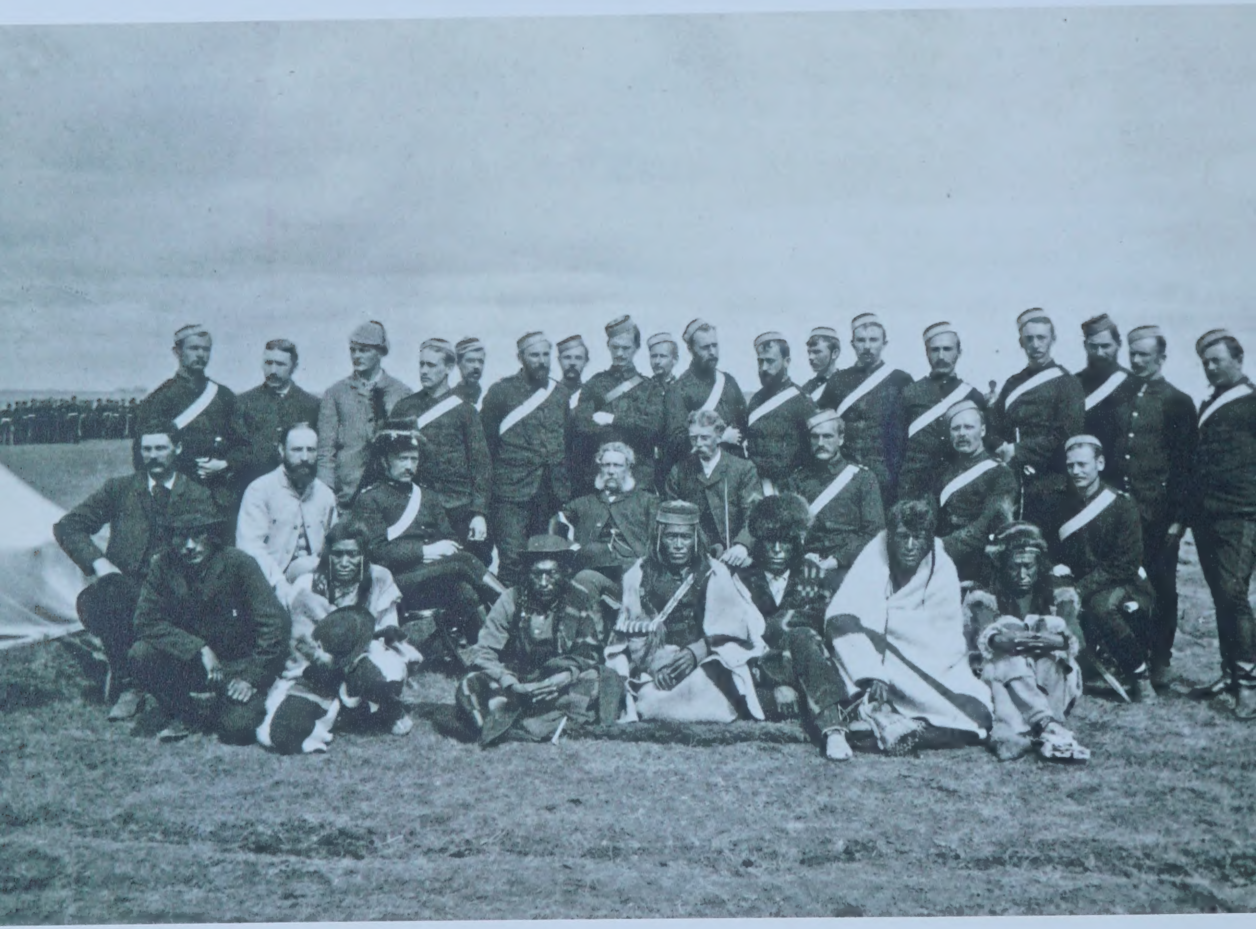


[illegible] N.W.T.
May

To the Minister of the Interior
Dear Sir
I take the liberty of introducing myself before I begin. I am Sitting Bull's Nephew, Watogala. to come to the point at once, I wish to ask will the Canadian Government help us in any way when the Buffalo die out, and our children are starving for food. Will your Government grant us any land so that we could sow any seed if we wanted to and will it grant us seed or not will it help us in any way or not I will you to please find out and send me a letter officialy so that its answer will be final to the Indians. On your answer will depend a great deal, as to whether we will stay (that is most of the Sioux) on this side of the line or not
Please answer soon

Very Truly &c
I am &c
Sitting Bull's Nephew
Hayechanghatek Watogala

Winnipeg
Manitoba
N.W.T.
B.A.



IP177

Aftermath of the Métis Resistance of 1885

The photographs in this section depict the aftermath of the 1885 Métis resistance in Saskatchewan. Concerned for their land rights and confronted with an unresponsive federal government, the Métis of the settlements of Batoche and St. Laurent, on the South Branch of the Saskatchewan River, asked Louis Riel, then a resident of Montana and an American citizen, to lead their resistance. The resistance began in March 1885 when the Métis encountered a government force at Duck Lake and ended in mid-May with the defeat at Batoche and surrender of Riel. The resistance was defeated through the mobilization of more than 5,000 men, constituting the largest preparation for war ever to take place on Canadian soil in the post-Confederation era. Besides intending to defeat the Métis, this massive military mobilization was designed to discourage resistance from First Nations to government control and rule, although there was little involvement of First Nations people in the resistance, as they observed the treaty promise to keep the peace. Riel was hanged in November 1885 in Regina, and eight Indigenous men were hanged at Fort Battleford later that month.

This photograph (IP177) is one of a series taken with the Montreal Garrison Artillery in Regina in 1885. The men in the foreground are generally identified as Chief Piapot and five other chiefs. Piapot, like most treaty leaders, did not participate in the resistance. At the centre of the photograph, seated, with mutton chops, is Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner and lieutenant governor of the Northwest Territories. Photographer Oliver B. Buell, hired by the CPR, conveyed the message that order had been restored in the West through his carefully posed photographs, like this one, of soldiers and Indigenous people. Buell gave travelling stereograph and lantern-slide lecture shows throughout the USA and eastern Canada, often highlighting that the Indigenous peoples of the West shown in his photographs did not pose any threat to settlers.[95]

The photographs on the following two pages (IP281, IP282, and IP283) were collected in 1885 by Sergeant Fred Bogart of the 8th Company York and Simcoe Brigade. IP282 shows Dakota Chief Wapiskaw Astotin (Whitecap). Chief Wapiskaw Astotin was taken

opposite page

Officers, scouts, and guests of the Montreal Garrison Artillery at camp in Regina, 1885; Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney is seated on a stool in the middle (fourth from left) and Chief Piapot is seated on a mat in front (also fourth from left).

Oliver B. Buell. Gelatin silver print. 34.0 x 27.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP177

right

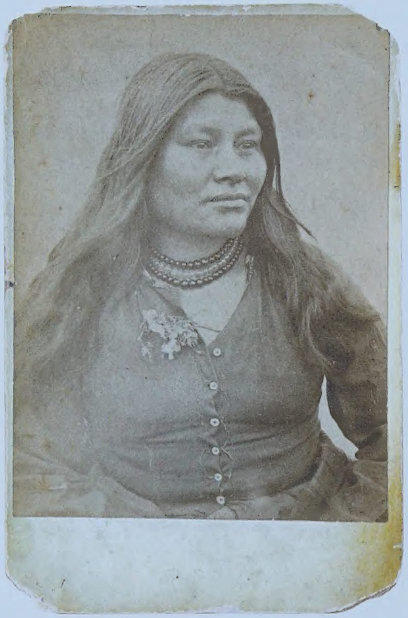
Daughter of Chief Wapiskaw Astotin (Whitecap), as identified in a handwritten note on verso. The photograph is one of a series of three photographs from the estate of Sergeant Fred Bogart, a supply officer at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1885.
Albumen. 10.7 x 16.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP281

far right

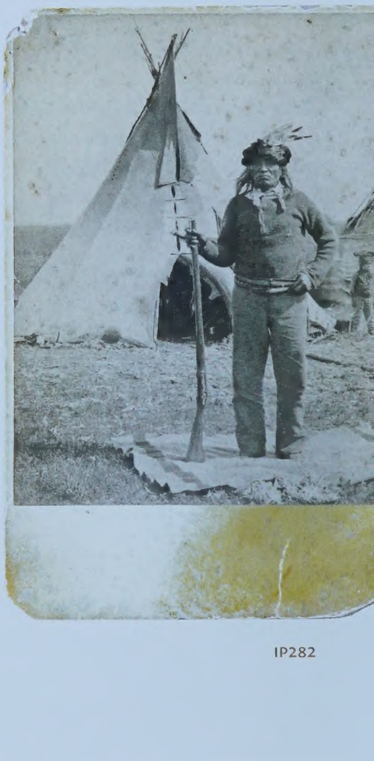
Chief Wapiskaw Astotin (Whitecap). The subject is identified in a handwritten note on verso. The photograph is one of a series of three photographs from the estate of Sergeant Fred Bogart, a supply officer at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1885. Identification written on verso.
Albumen. 10.7 x 16.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP282

opposite page

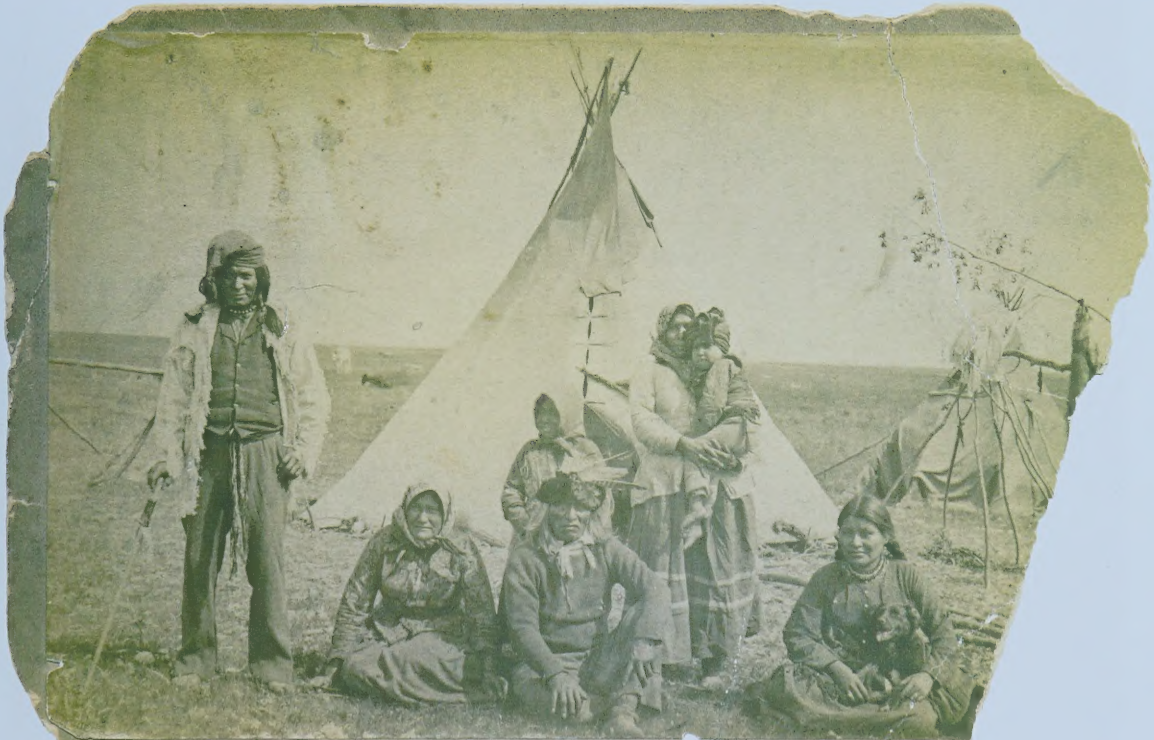
Chief Wapiskaw Astotin (Whitecap) and his family, as identified in a handwritten note on verso. The photograph is one of a series of three photographs from the estate of Sergeant Fred Bogart, a supply officer at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1885.
Albumen. 18.8 x 12.6 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP283



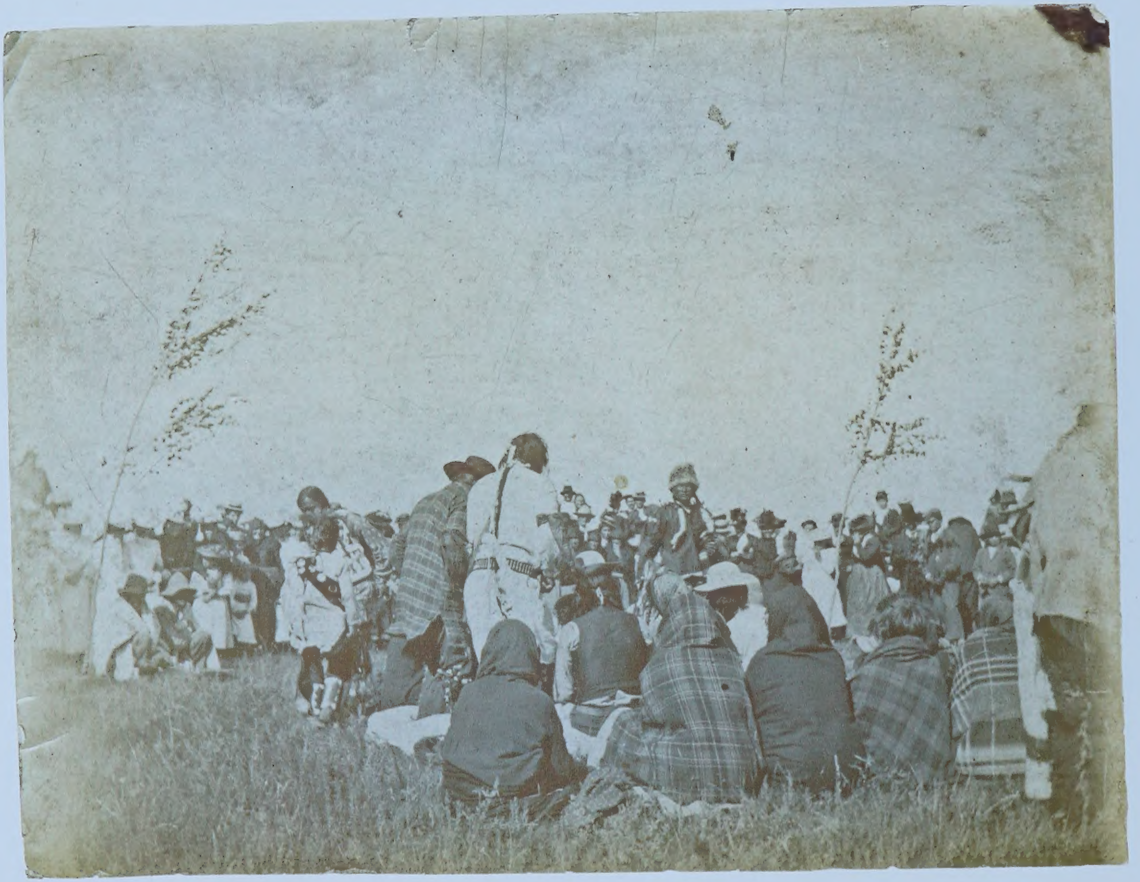
IP281



IP282



IP283



IP167

prisoner following the Battle of Batoche in May 1885 and was charged with treason-felony, although he is widely understood not to have been involved in any fighting and to have counseled peace. He was later freed, and all charges were dropped.[96] One of his son's was captured, and one was killed. IP283 shows Chief Wapiskaw Astotin, seated at centre, and his son who was captured, on the left. IP281 is a striking and rare image of Chief Wapiskaw Astotin's daughter. She wears the beads identified by Elder Josephine Buffalo as the treasured *kaskitew miksa*.

On the back of the photograph on the facing page (IP167) is written, "Danse Sauvage, fête de Batoche." A Métis settlement, Batoche was the focus of the 1885 resistance. An annual Fête des Métifs was held there beginning in 1887 on 24 July.[97] Nearby First Nations included One Arrow's Cree and Beardy First Nation, and they may have been the drummers in this photograph. While the Métis may have been militarily defeated at Batoche in 1885, the community lived on.

opposite page

Fête des Métifs held at Batoche annually after 1887 in Batoche, Saskatchewan.
Albumen. 9.5 x 12.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP167

opposite page

Carte de visite: Louis Riel, c.1870.
Albumen. 9.3 x 6.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP069

Cartes de Visite of Prominent Métis Men: Louis Riel, Georges Racette, Gabriel Dumont, and Michel Dumas

A series of *cartes de visite* in the collection portray prominent Métis men from the nineteenth century. *Cartes de visite* are small photographs the size of a business card. They were given to family, friends, and new acquaintances. Those of prominent persons were circulated widely, collected, purchased, and reprinted by later photographers.

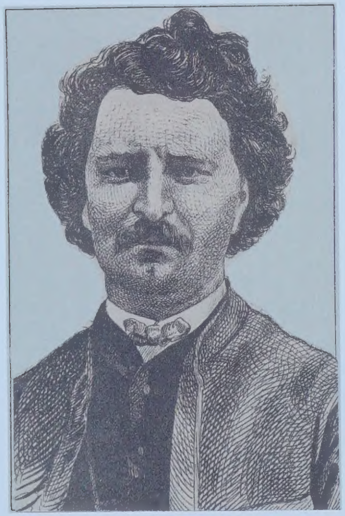
Shown in IP069, Louis Riel (1844–1885) was leader of the Métis in the 1869–70 Red River Resistance. Following the Resistance, he was a Member of Parliament for a Manitoba riding, an inmate of an asylum in Montreal, and a farmer in Montana. He also led the 1885 Métis resistance against the Canadian government—and was hanged for treason in November of that year.

This photograph is variously dated 1869, 1870, and 1873, when Riel was in his late twenties. It may have been taken at Red River/Winnipeg, Ottawa, or St. Paul, Minnesota. Indigenous people such as Riel embraced photography; strategically adopting the poses and conventions of colonial society, they commissioned and enlisted photography for a variety of purposes.[98] In this photograph, dressed not in Métis but European attire, Riel is generating an image of himself as the man who negotiated the terms of Manitoba's entry into Confederation, including land and French-language rights for the Métis. The photograph proclaims that he is worthy of the role of Member of Parliament.

In later years, the image from the original photograph was reproduced numerous times, often as a drawing or an etching. Subtle and not-subtle changes to the image make Riel appear at times heroic and at other times sinister or dangerous. For example, in the engraving used in the 1885 *The Montreal Witness* publication "The Riel Rebellion 1885," Riel's features were darkened and his hair made to appear unkempt, while in the publication *Les Funérailles de Louis Riel*, from the same year, he is cast as more heroic.

LOUIS RIEL CA. 1870

IP069



THE RIEL REBELLION 1885

FIRST EDITION. "WITNESS" PRINTING HOUSE, MONTREAL. TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

PREFACE.

No volcanic eruption ever broke out more unexpectedly than the rebellion in the North-West. There were not wanting warnings, but those they reached looked upon them as the outcome of fear or partizanship. Whatever their grievances or distress, it could not be imagined that a few poor half-breeds would raise a standard against British power. After the outbreak, serious events followed each other rapidly. Interest in what was impending always left little thought for realizing what had happened. Descriptions by mail of what was a fortnight past tumbled in on the heels of the telegrams of yesterday. Now that the rebellion is over, an orderly knowledge of the events in their sequence and relations will be desired by everyone. In this work, care has been taken to preserve only the romance of truth, discarding apocryphal embellishments. Substantial accuracy can be vouched for, although some details will probably require correction from sources not yet available.

CHAPTER I.

VIVE LA NATION METISSE.

On the 17th of March, 1885, a rumor, designedly started, ran through the half-breed settlements scattered around the little church of St. Laurent, on the right bank of the South Saskatchewan river, that the "police" were crossing to suppress "La Nation Metisse," and to seize its political and religious leader Louis David Riel. There was a hurried gathering, of which the few prominent and active men of the little community who were on hand, evidently not surprised, formed the greater part. There and then "The Metis Nation" was declared to be established, the authority of the Provisional Government of the Saskatchewan was proclaimed, and both were to be maintained, if necessary, by force of arms. Runners were sent to arouse the half-breeds and to secure the alliance of the Indians, and Louis Riel, who had just been elected President, is reported to have said "The Rebellion is a fact."

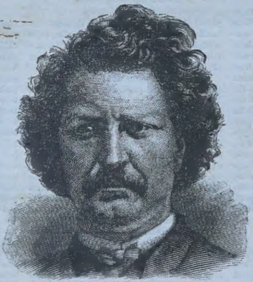


Photo., Zimmerman, St. Paul.—Eng. Harper Bros.

Louis Riel.

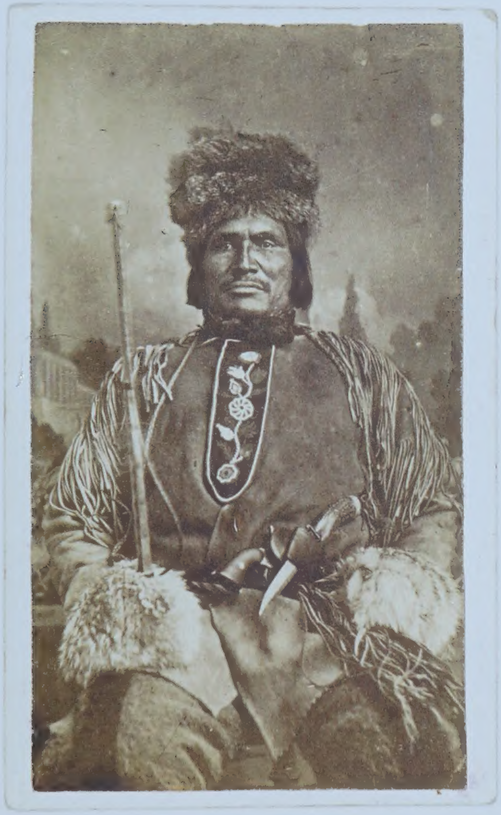
(Facsimile of signature to Parliament roll.)

Louis Riel, the President, is inclined to revolution by birth as well as by character. He is said to be descended from a dashing young Irishman, possibly an O'Reilly, who came to Canada about the beginning of last century. His father, Jean Baptiste Riel (pronounced Re-elle), who had but a dash of Indian blood in his veins, headed an outbreak, in 1849, against the Hudson's Bay Company in the North-West, rescued a prisoner and became so powerful that the Honorable Company felt compelled to purchase his favor. The means thus obtained brought increasing consideration, which culminated in young Louis being sent to be educated at St. Mary's, commonly called the Jesuit's College, in Montreal, for the priesthood. That this institution had but crude material to work on in the young barbarian may be judged from the following preserved specimens of his early business correspondence :—

"Dece. 11, 1863.
Whit Horsé Plant
My dier [illegible] sent to [illegible]
you th[illegible] Fox........£6
and 16 munks..........£7.16
and two Hother............1.15
116 lbs Pimcan............1.0.9½
i am your serv
Le Riel.
buy Mr. frises son
My déir Sir if it is possibles to pot his Horse ton will mouch blaigé you"

"Prérie du Cheval Blanc
Monsieur, Je vous anvois par le garson de Mr. Frisés 18 pair de souflier a £1.11s Monsieur 'jai trouvés due toreau mais j'atant pour la'gans afin de retirer le toreau vous pouvez anvoyer lar gans par exavier frisés.
Je suis votre serviteur
Le Riel.
le 9 decembre 1863."

He was a relative and protégé of His Grace Archbishop Taché, of St. Boniface, who was destined to be his protector in manhood as in boyhood. He did not enter the priesthood, but studied law without much success in the office of the Hon. Mr. Laflamme, and eventually returned to the North-West, a rather moody youth, of a melancholy turn of mind, full of Byronic megrims about being uncomprehended, but with religious tendencies as a result of his training. He had made little impression upon his associates, and it was with wonder they heard, in 1869, that he was the leader of the rebellious half-breeds of the Red River valley. His claim at that time, and that of the small native population whom he led, was that they were not in rebellion, but were, as the natural owners of the land, bound to resist invasion from a government which had taken over their territory in pursuance of an agreement with a trading company, to which their consent was not asked and in which their rights of property and of self



IP103

opposite page, left

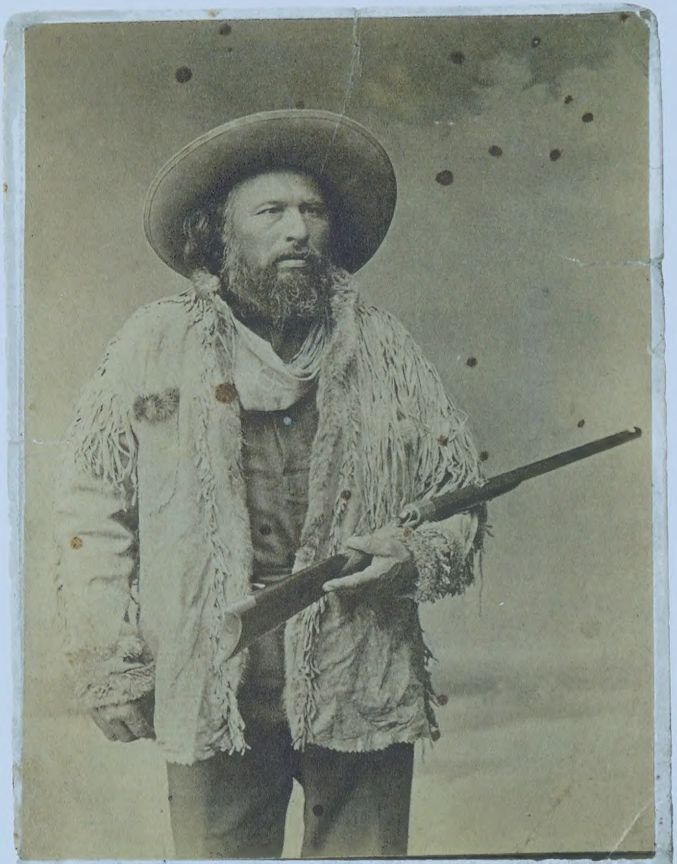
Les Funérailles de Louis Riel by Léon Ledieu. Montreal, 1885.
Library and Archives Canada
Reference number: CPG/GPC Réserve / Reserve FC3217.1 R53 L433; scan of the frontispiece portrait of Louis Riel.

opposite page, right

"The Riel Rebellion 1885," *The Montreal Witness* 1885.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
FC 3215 R555 1885A FOLIO

left

Carte de visite: studio portrait Georges Racette Jr, also known as Cheman or Chiman Innini (Canoe Man), Métis.
J. Penrose. Albumen. 9.3 x 5.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP103



GABRIEL DUMONT

IP068

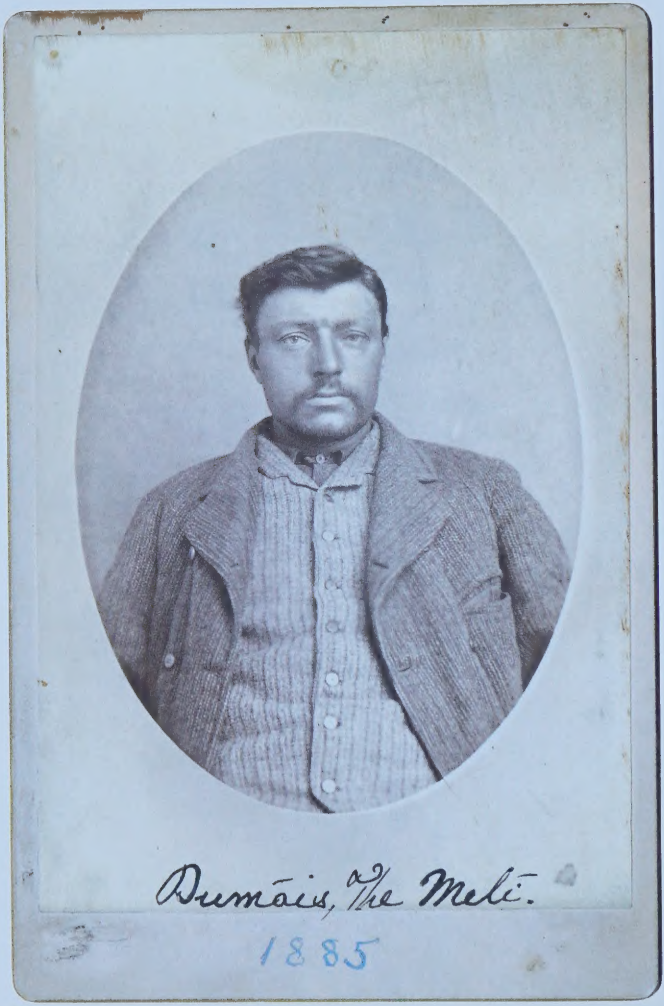
Shown in IP103 (page 71), Georges Racette (alias "Chiman Innini" or "Canoe Man" in Anishinaabe) was Métis. Born at Red River circa 1821, he died in 1877 when he was struck by lightning on the plains. Well over six feet tall, he was known for his skill as a hunter, horseman, and trader. He was present at the Treaty 4 negotiations at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1874, where he was vividly described by a militia officer on the first day of the assembly: "The whole camp came forward in martial array, led by an enormously large man, riding a very fair specimen of the buffalo hunters of that time...attired in blue cloth capote with brass buttons...deerskin moccasins with broad L'Assomption belt or sash of variegated colours in silk around his waist..."[99] One HBC employee wrote that "A description of him and his deeds would fill a highly sensational Wild West story book."[100] Fiercely independent and proud of his Métis heritage are the messages of this portrait even to this day. In the portrait, Racette wears the Métis clothing of a man of substance and achievement. As historian Sherry Farrell Racette wrote, he was "an unbowed spirit."[101]

This portrait of Racette dates from between 1872 and 1877. It is embossed with the stamp of the studio of photographer James Penrose, an Englishman who came to Manitoba in 1871 and established a photography business in Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie. Although the photograph bears Penrose's stamp, it and other photographs may have been purchased by Penrose from one of the earliest Red River photographers, Ryder Larson.

Shown in IP068, Gabriel Dumont (1837–1906) led the military resistance of the Métis at Batoche in 1885. Following the Métis defeat in May of that year, Dumont left for the USA accompanied by Michel Dumas, who had also fought at Batoche. In 1886 Dumont joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show as a sharpshooter. He was in Montreal in 1888, and this photograph dates from that time. While this photograph can be read as a commercial image of him as a sharpshooter from the Wild West Show, it can also be read as a portrait commissioned by a proud Métis man in a characteristic buckskin and beaded jacket posing with a weapon that indicated power. By 1893 Dumont had returned to Batoche, where he died in 1906.

opposite page

Studio portrait of Gabriel Dumont.
Henri Larin. Albumen. 14.0 x 10.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP068



Dumais, The Meti.

1885

IP255

This image (IP255) of Michel Dumas (1849–1901) was likely taken before the 1885 Resistance. Dumas served with Riel in the Red River Resistance of 1869–70. He travelled with Gabriel Dumont in 1884 to Montana to request that Riel lead a second resistance, fought against the Field Force at Batoche in 1885, and went to the USA with Dumont following the defeat of the Métis. He appeared in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show including in Paris. He later returned to Canada and was a teacher in Manitoba.

opposite page

Studio portrait of Michel Dumas, Métis. A handwritten note on verso identifies Dumas as "Louis Riel's Lieutenant" in 1885.
Dan Dutro. Albumen. 16.5 x 10.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP255

opposite page

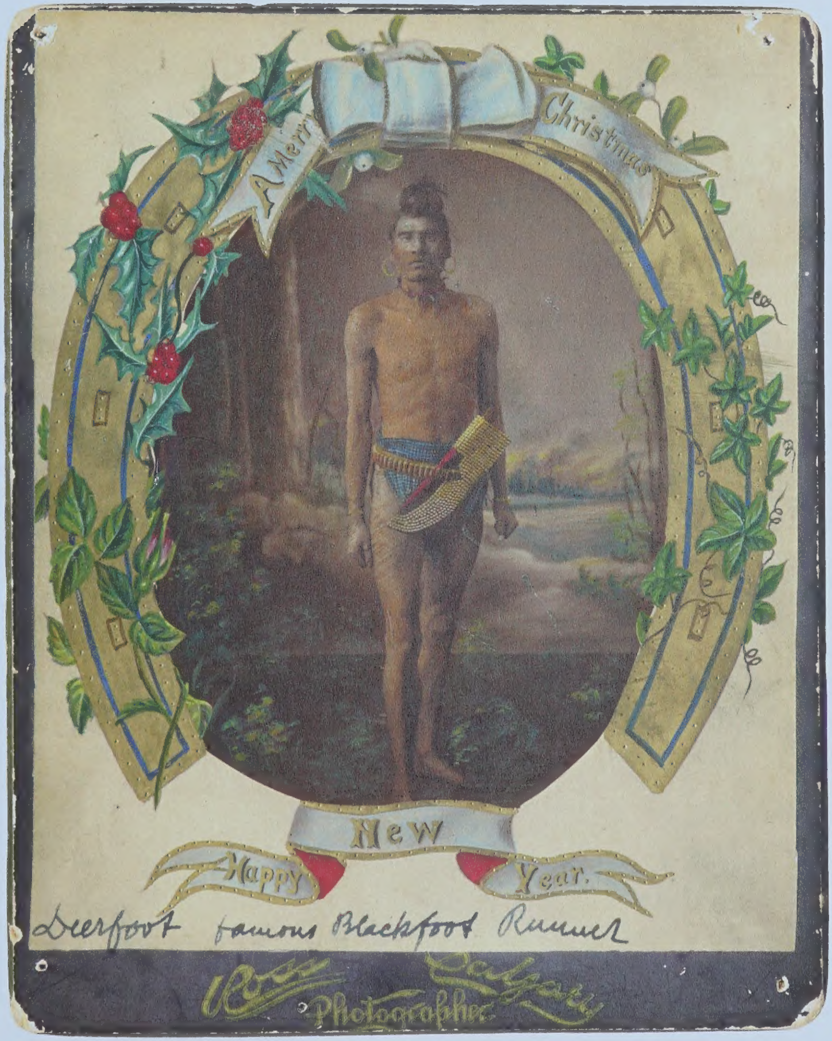
Studio portrait of Apikaiees, Niitsitapiisini, a competitive runner who became well known as Deerfoot, hand-coloured and framed with a holiday greeting.
Ross. Albumen. 16.6 x 12.7 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP058

Christmas Cards – Deerfoot and Weasel Tail

The collection includes two commercial Christmas cards featuring Indigenous men framed by a horseshoe wrapped in holly, mistletoe, and other greenery. Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, photographs of Indigenous people were used for Christmas cards and postcards and on the covers of scribblers and other media. The circulation of such items is an unexplored but interesting topic for further research.

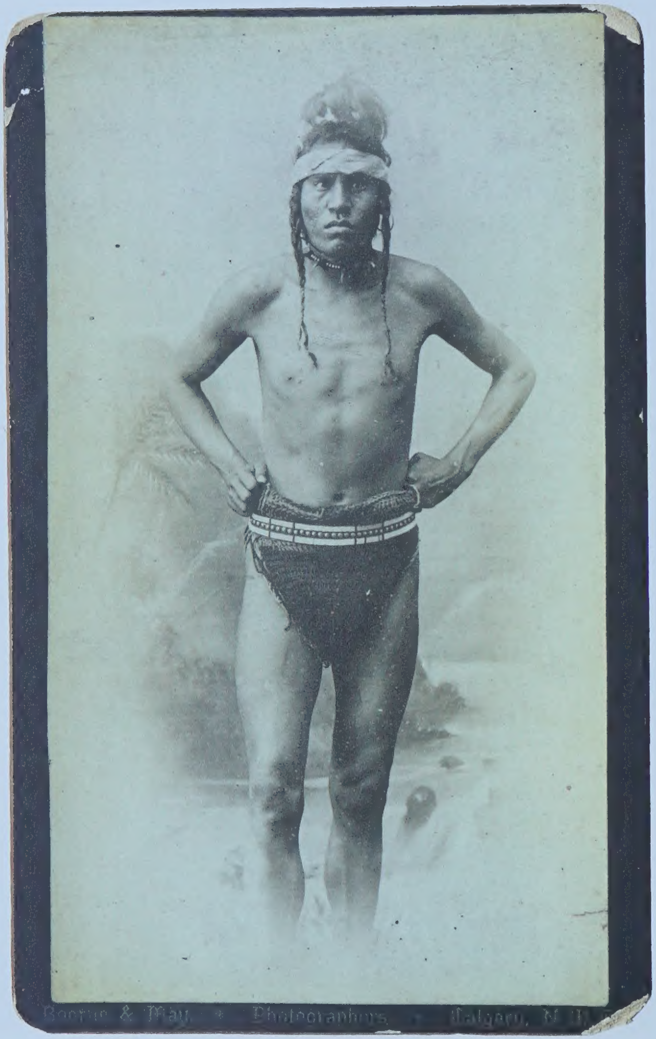
The man featured in the Christmas card on the facing page (IP058) is Apikaiees (Deerfoot), a legendary Siksika messenger. The collection also includes a studio portrait of Deerfoot (IP225, page 78) different from the studio portrait used to produce this Christmas card. Apikaiees, born circa 1864, was a nephew of the Treaty 7 Chief Crowfoot. He began as a messenger for the Niisitapiisini (Blackfoot Confederacy) taking messages to the dispersed reserve communities.[102] He was "discovered" by promoters in Calgary, and then he raced throughout southern Alberta in the 1880s against visiting professional runners and other Indigenous athletes, with his performances covered in papers as far away as New York. In 1886 he won a four-day endurance race, competing over 84 miles. In that year he was given the professional name "Deerfoot" after a Seneca man and world record-holder in running. His running career ended in 1887, however, when he was arrested for stealing from a settler and resisted arrest, remaining at large for two years. In 1889 he was sentenced to six weeks in prison and after that was frequently incarcerated for various misdemeanors. He died of tuberculosis in the guardhouse of the Calgary NWMP barracks in 1897. He is remembered, however, through Calgary's Deerfoot Trail, a major thoroughfare in the city.

Allan Wolfleg said that Deerfoot was registered as part of the Yellow Old Woman family in the Indian registries: "His father was killed in war so the mother took the husband's weapon and went to war. She earned her name, Face Painted Yellow, which became Yellow Old Woman at War. He was the last of the runners. They would eat as they ran; food would be held on the right side of the body, and medicine on the left side."[103] Wolfleg also told the story of an Irishman marathon runner who challenged


A Merry Christmas
Happy New Year.
Ross Calgary Photographer.

Deerfoot famous Blackfoot Runner

IP058


Boorne & May • Photographers • Calgary, N. W.

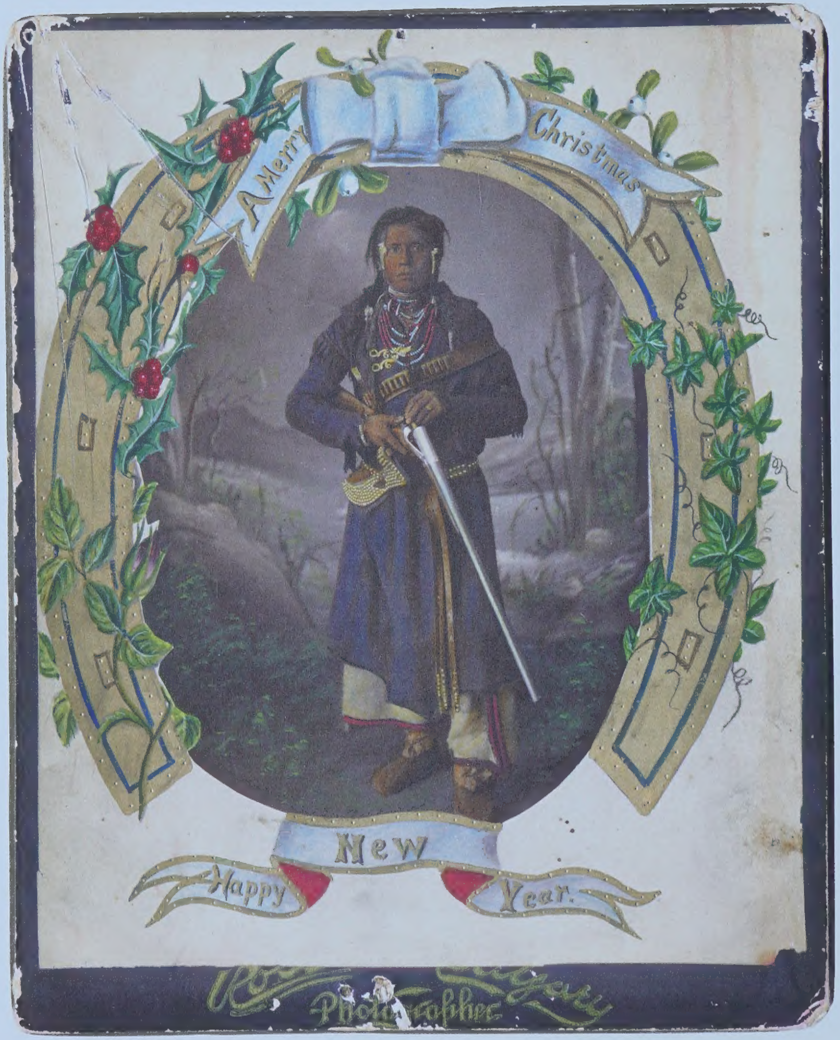
IP225

Deerfoot, saying to the interpreter, "'Tell Deerfoot that I am going to fly.' They took off. Three quarters of the way, Deerfoot passed him. The Irishman tried to catch up; he fell from exhaustion."[104]

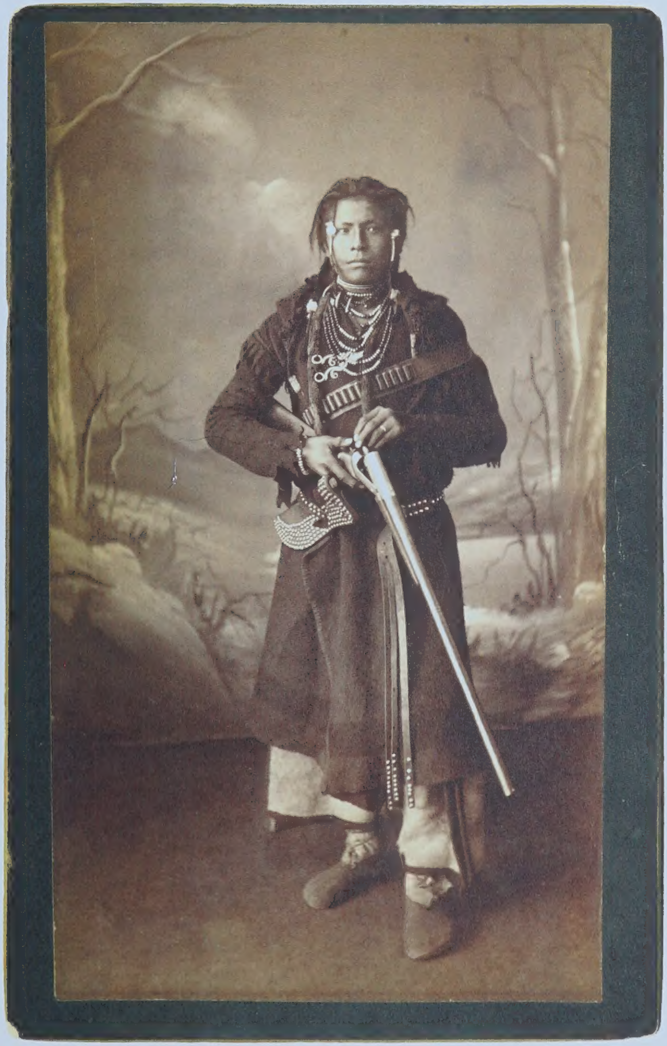
On the next two pages there is a Christmas card (IP059) and the photograph (IP060) from which it was crafted. The sitter in IP060 is identified on the back as "Medium Pipe," but on the back of IP059, he is identified as "Weasel Tail Blackfoot 1891 when he was about sixteen years old. He was made Minor Chief South Band."[105] Ramona Lowhorn agreed with the caption in IP059. She said, "Apoxsuyis," or as Allan Wolfleg spells it, "Apohsuyis," means Weasel Tail. Lowhorn commented: "He's wearing a ring for this photo shoot; there are other props, like that gun."[106] Wolfleg similarly stated, "this is a staged photo. I see necklaces, NorthWest trade blanket, a buffalo gun, a knife, high tops."[107] The Christmas card here has the same decorative pattern of a horseshoe and greenery as on the Apikaiees (Deerfoot) Christmas card.

opposite page

Studio portrait of Apikaiees, Niitsitapiisini, a competitive runner who became well known as Deerfoot.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 19.4 x 11.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP225


A Merry
Christmas
Happy
New
Year.
Photographer

IP059



IP060

opposite page

Studio portrait of Indigenous man, hand-coloured and framed with a holiday greeting. Handwriting on verso identifies the subject as Weasel Tail, Niitsitapiisini, at approximately 16 years of age in 1891, while the handwriting on the verso of a second copy (IP060) identifies the subject as Medium Pipe, Niitsitapiisini.
Ross. Albumen. 16.6 x 12.7 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP059

left

Studio portrait of Indigenous man. It is the same image as IP059 without added colour: handwriting on verso of IP059 identifies the subject as Weasel Tail, Niitsitapiisini, while the handwriting on the verso of this copy identifies the subject as Medium Pipe, Niitsitapiisini.
Ross. Albumen. 19.3 x 11.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP060

opposite page

Indigenous person on a horse in front of a tipi.
A.B. Thom. Albumen. 10.0 x 15.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP158

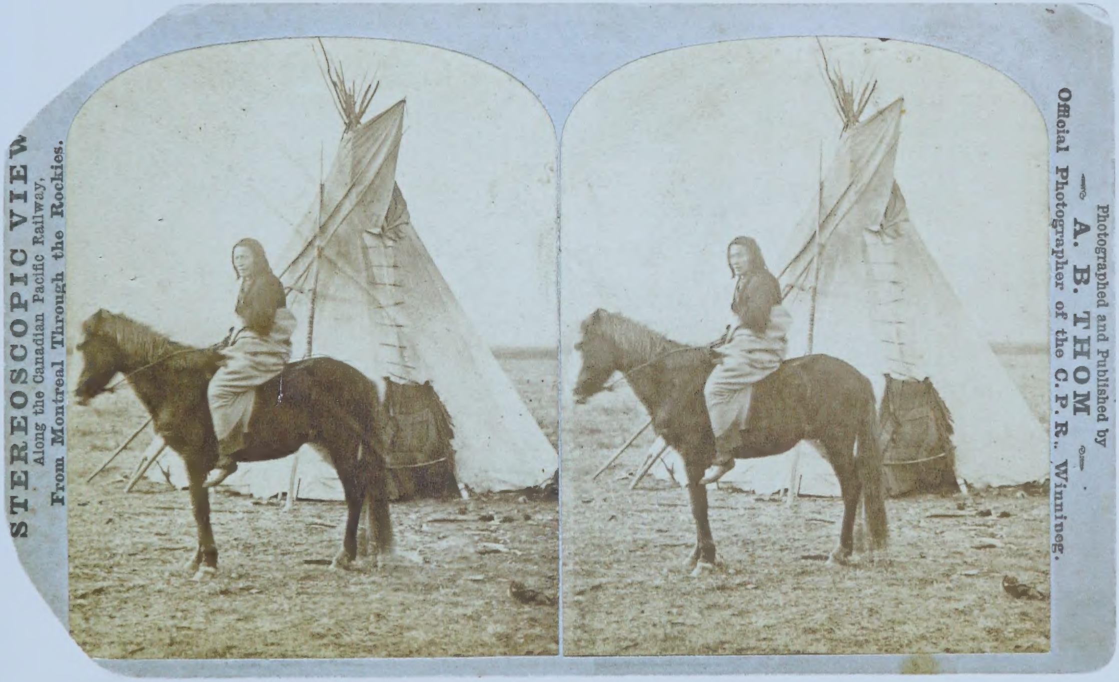
Stereograph Cards

In the collection, we found several examples of stereograph cards sold by different Canadian photography studios. Stereograph cards were made from a pair of photographs taken from slightly different vantage points. When viewed through a stereoscope apparatus, the images on the two cards would appear to fuse, providing the spectator with the illusion of depth. The images on these stereograph cards were among the many images circulated by the CPR to attract tourists and settlers to Western Canada through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This stereograph (IP158) depicts an Indigenous man on horseback in front of tipi. It was taken by A.B. Thom, an itinerant photographer for the CPR, in the 1880s.

The stereograph (IP165) on page 84 of seven women and children in the foreground and a bearded man in the doorway, appears to be an Interlake or northern Manitoba location, given that the lodge is constructed of birch bark. The man wears what appears to be a ceinture fléchée, also known as an Assomption sash, worn by Métis men.

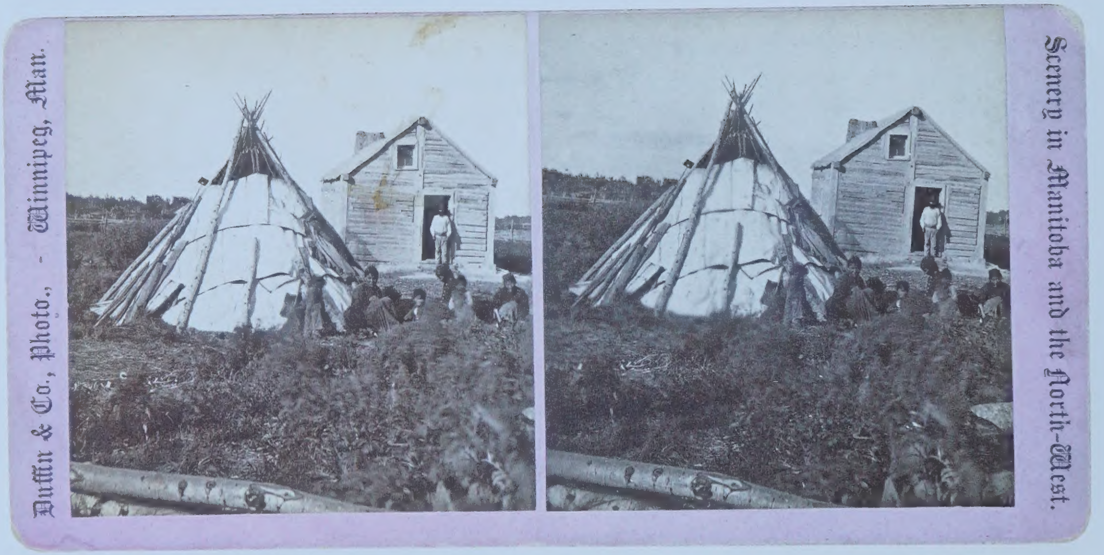
The three stereographs (IP264, IP265, and IP266) on page 85 were part of a set. We were drawn to the set because the photographs in it may have been taken at a later time period than most of the photographs in this collection. IP264 shows a woman walking down a road: her face is not visible; we only see her from the back. In the background there appears to be a power line, which may indicate that it was taken in the twentieth century—when stereographs had long since gone out of fashion. IP265 is a lively image of gathering, drumming, and dancing. Image IP266 is possibly of the same event as IP265, and it is a remarkable record of ribbon skirts and jewelry.



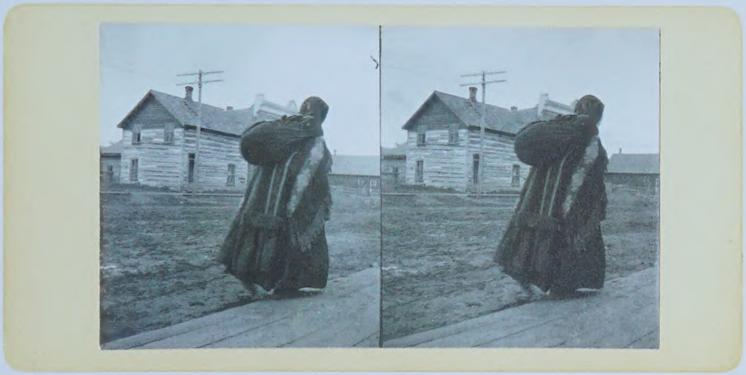
STEREOSCOPIC VIEW
Along the Canadian Pacific Railway,
From Montreal Through the Rockies.

Photographed and Published by
A. B. THOM
Official Photographer of the C.P.R., Winnipeg.

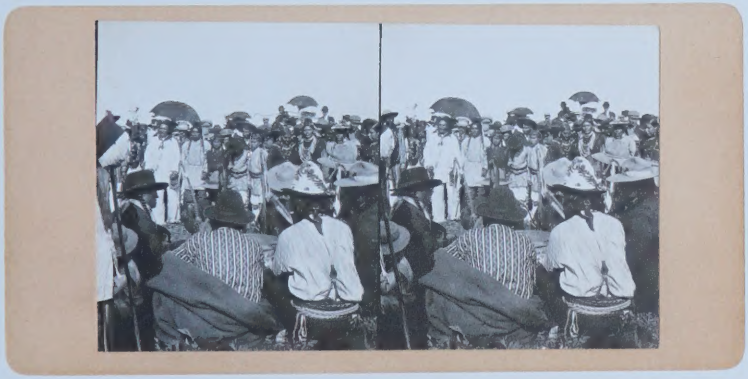
IP158


Duffin & Co., Photo., - Winnipeg, Man.
Scenery in Manitoba and the North-West.

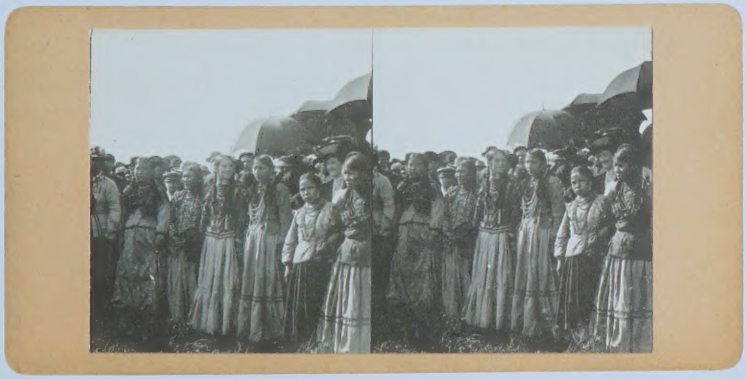
IP165



IP264



IP265



IP266

opposite-page

Indigenous family. This is one of a series of stereoviews titled "Scenery in Manitoba and the North-West."
Duffin & Co. Albumen. 8.2 x 15.4 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP165

left top

Stereograph: woman carrying a load on her back.
Gelatin silver print. 8.8 x 17.8 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP264

left centre

Indigenous and non-Indigenous people gathered around a drum circle.
Gelatin silver print. 8.8 x 17.8 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP265

left bottom

Indigenous women in ribbon skirts standing in front of a large gathering.
Gelatin silver print. 8.8 x 17.8 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP266

opposite page

Studio portrait of Chief Mékaisto (Red Crow), Kainai.
Steele & Co. Albumen. 18.0 x 22.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP278

Kainai Men

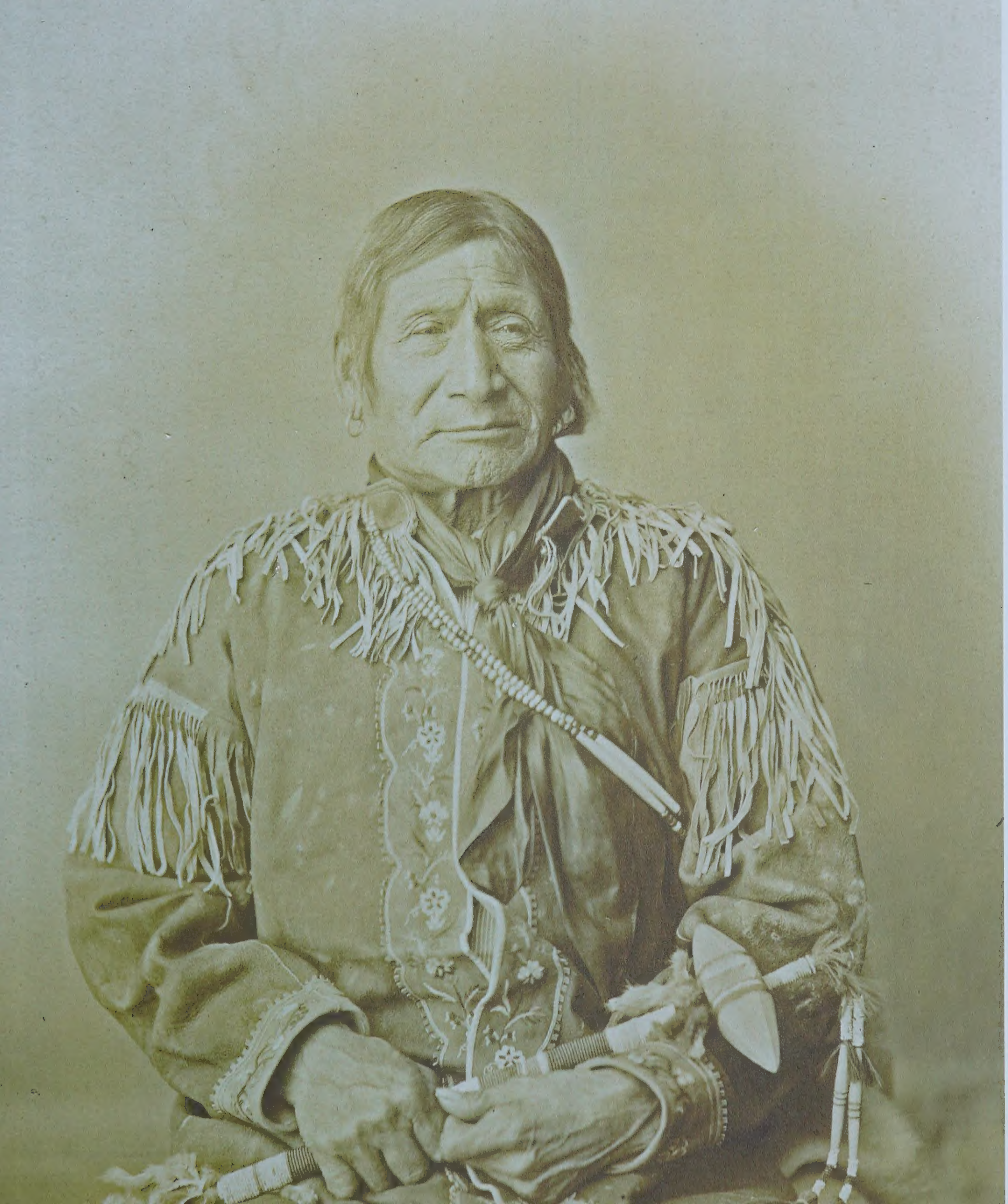
We discovered two groups of photographs featuring Kainai men in the collection. One group of photographs shows prominent Kainai men who have been posed with props and clothing provided by a studio photographer, while the second group shows Kainai men in attire that has personal and cultural significance.

In the first group of photographs (IP054, IP277, and IP278), taken by Frederick Steele of Winnipeg, each of the men wears the same jacket, one that does not reflect Niitsitapiisini patterns of embroidery.[108] It seems likely that the jacket was a prop that Steele travelled with on his extensive trips across the West working for the CPR and that the jacket was acquired in the Red River region, reflecting Anishinaabe or Métis patterns. Iowa-born Steele established his Winnipeg photography studio in 1887. The photographs are dated 1895.

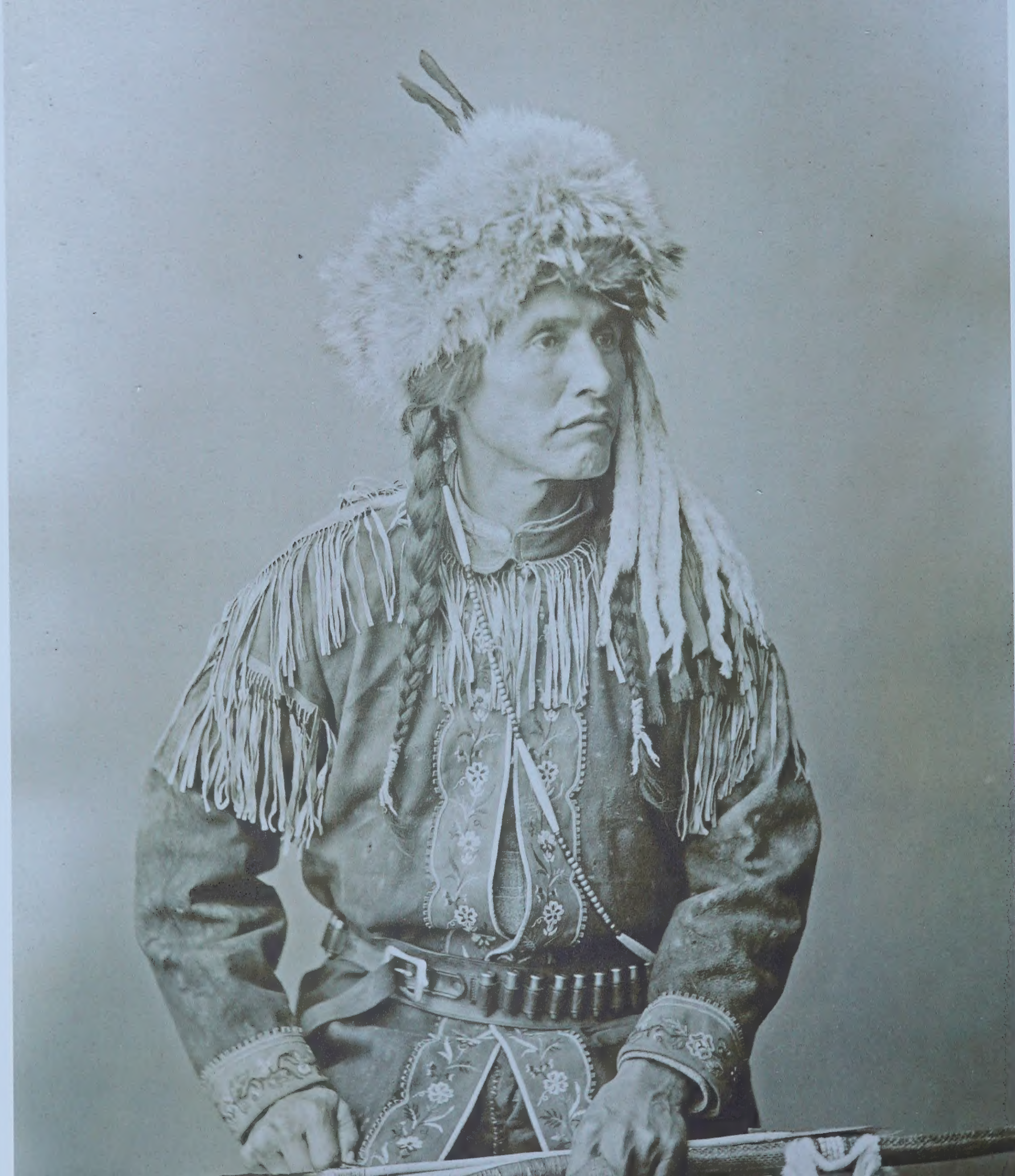
Shown on the facing page (IP278) distinguished Treaty 7 Chief of the Kainai, Mékaisto, or Red Crow, was a renowned leader from a long line of chiefs; he became a farmer and rancher in the 1880s. At the time that the photograph was taken, he was battling the Indian agent on his reserve for the right of his people to practice their own religion.[109]

Shown on page 88 (IP277) Po-ti-nah, Joe Healy, was a trader, a rancher, and a head chief of the Kainai. As a young boy he survived an 1869 attack on his people at the Sun River trading post (Montana territory), where his parents and a sibling of his died, and was adopted by whiskey trader John J. Healy and his wife Mary Frances. He learned to read and write at the Sun River school, worked at Fort Whoop-Up near present-day Lethbridge, and lived his adult life on the Kainai First Nation.[110]

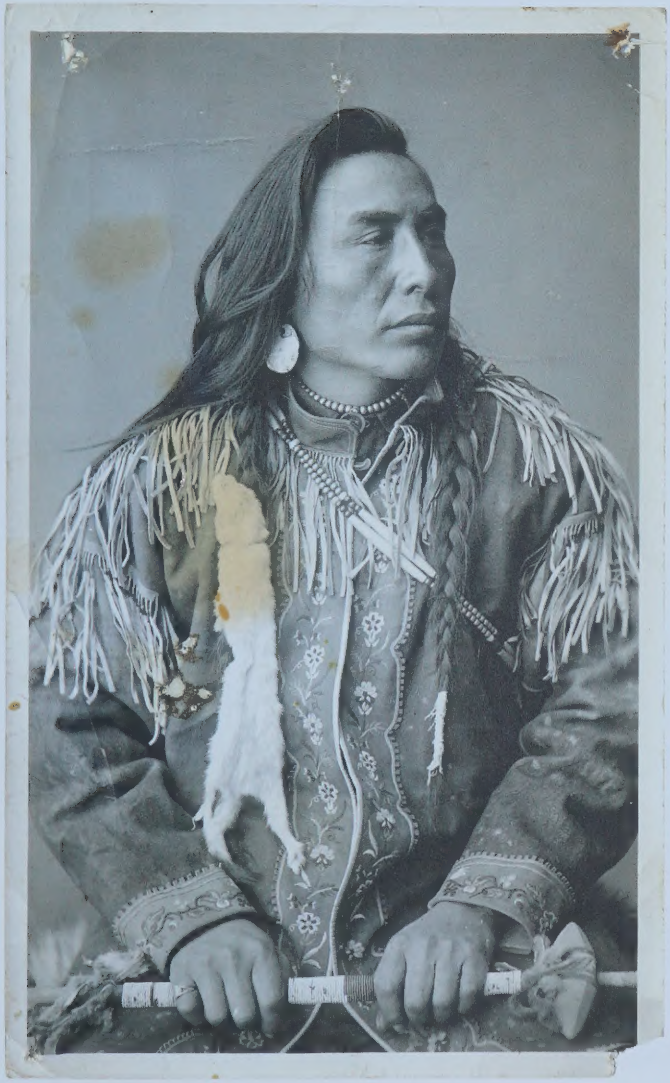
The photograph on page 89 IP054 shows Black Plume, Sixapo, also known as Long Mane, who was a prominent leader of the Kainai.[111]



IP278



IP27



opposite page

Studio portrait of Po-ti-nah (Joe Healy), Kainai, c.1896.

Steele & Co. Albumen. 18.0 x 22.5 cm. Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections

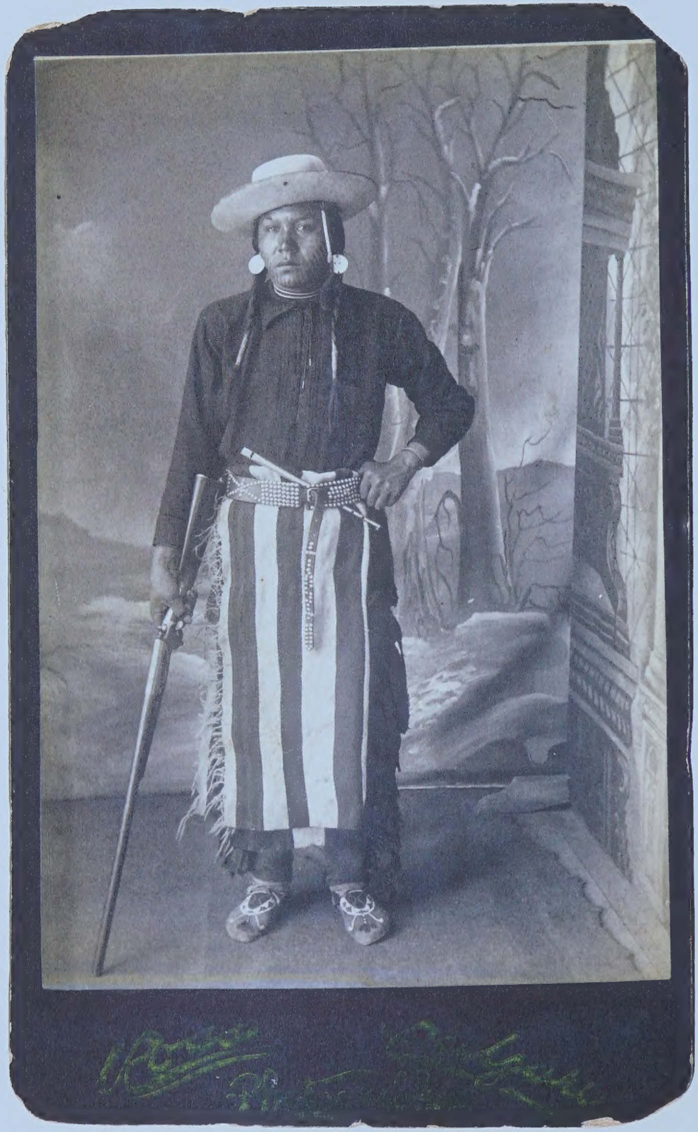
TR 681 I58 I64 IP277

left

Studio portrait of Sixapo (Black Plume), Kainai, 1895.

Steele & Co. Gelatin silver print. 20.1 x 12.4 cm. Bruce Peel Special Collections

TR 681 I58 I64 IP054



IP063

The second group of photographs (IP062, IP063, and IP064) differs markedly from the Steele portraits. In these photographs, each Kainai man appears in his own attire. It is striking to note their freedom to express their individuality, identities, culture, beliefs, and accomplishments through clothing, jewelry, hats, paint, and hairstyles, as compared to the restricted and dull attire of Euro-Canadian males at that time. The man in IP063 (facing page) has his face painted, and he wears traditional shell earrings, as well as a unique hat. Marvin Littlechild stated that all men had special hats and these would be worn for special activities.[112] About IP064 (page 93), Rick Lightning commented that this is a photograph of a "great, powerful warrior."[113] This man has on a beaded top and has traditional tufted hair.

opposite page

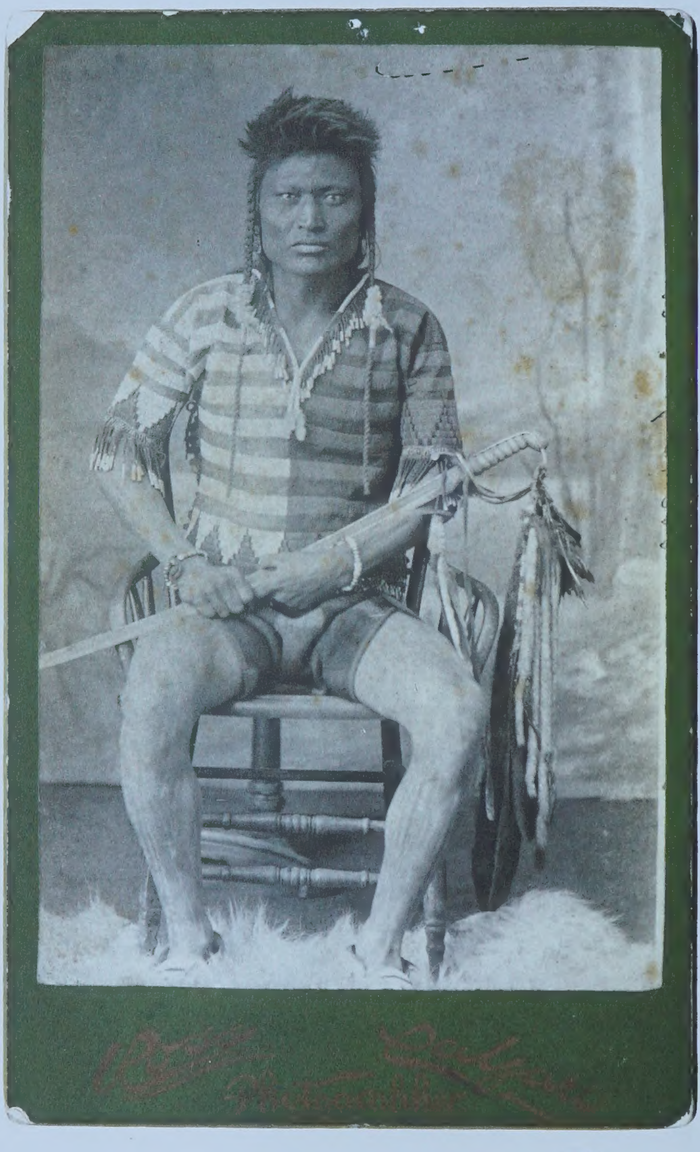
Studio portrait of an Indigenous man.
Ross. Albumen. 18.0 x 12.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP063

right

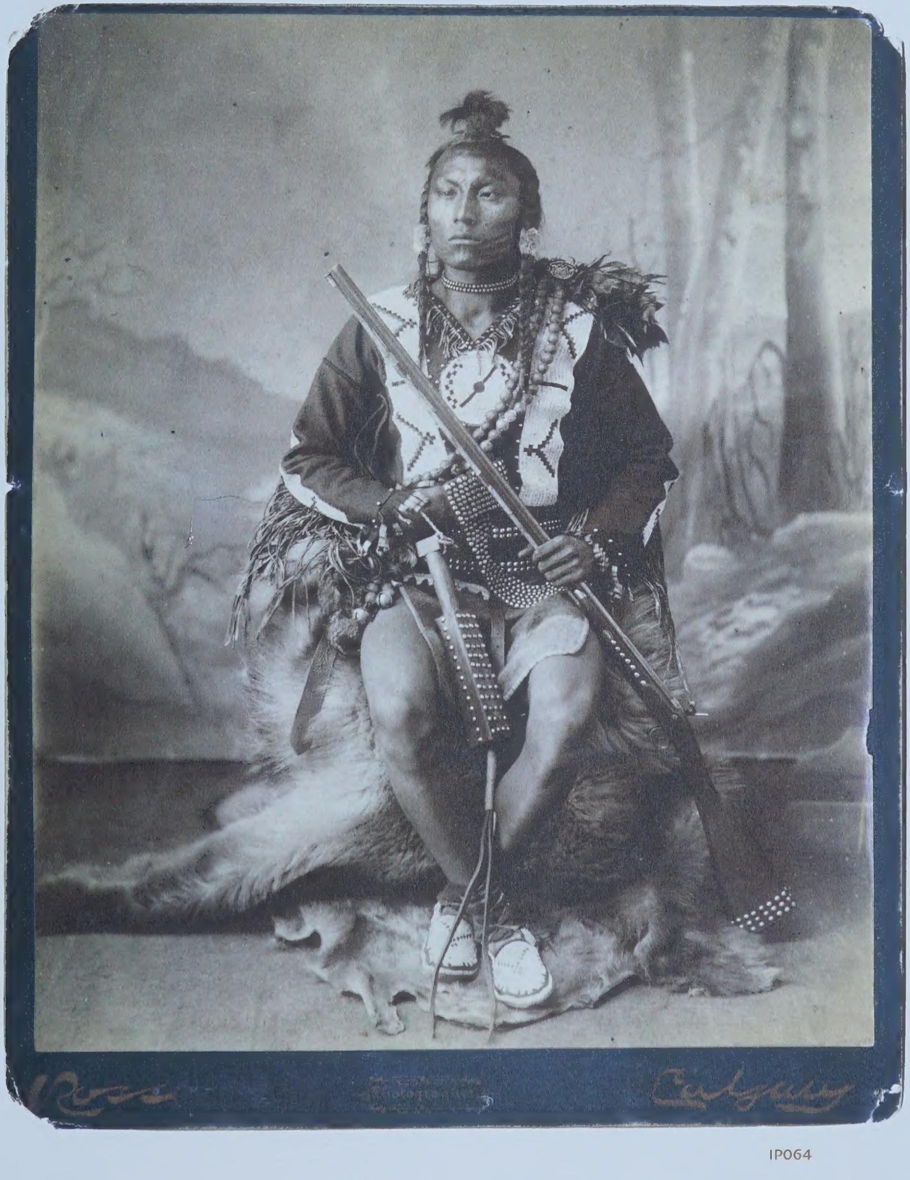
Studio portrait of an Indigenous man.
Ross. Albumen. 18.1 x 12.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP062

opposite page

Studio portrait of a Kainai man.
Ross. Albumen. 24.0 x 19.1 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP064



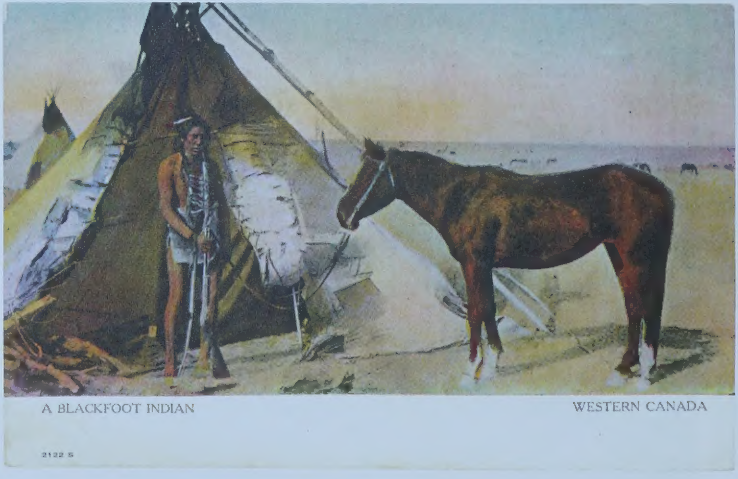
IP062


Ross
Calgary

IP064

Breastplates from British Trade Muskets

In the two photographs (IP089, IP251) on the facing page and the photograph (IP287) on page 96, a striking feature is the metallic breastplate that was made from serpent side plates recycled from British trade muskets. The J.E. Barnett and Sons flintlock musket was a primary source of these sideplates.[114] The breastplate identified these men as warriors. Taken on the Niitsitapiisini reserve at Gleichen, IP089 is similar to the image that appeared as a postcard (PEEL POSTCARD 9734, below) and as one of a collection of ten images on another postcard (PEEL POSTCARD 9679 with close-up in third row, far left, page 97). In IP287, the same man appears again with family members in front of their lodge. Allan Wolfleg commented that the tipi is a travelling lodge and would go on a travois, "that's why it's ragged."[115]



PC009734

right

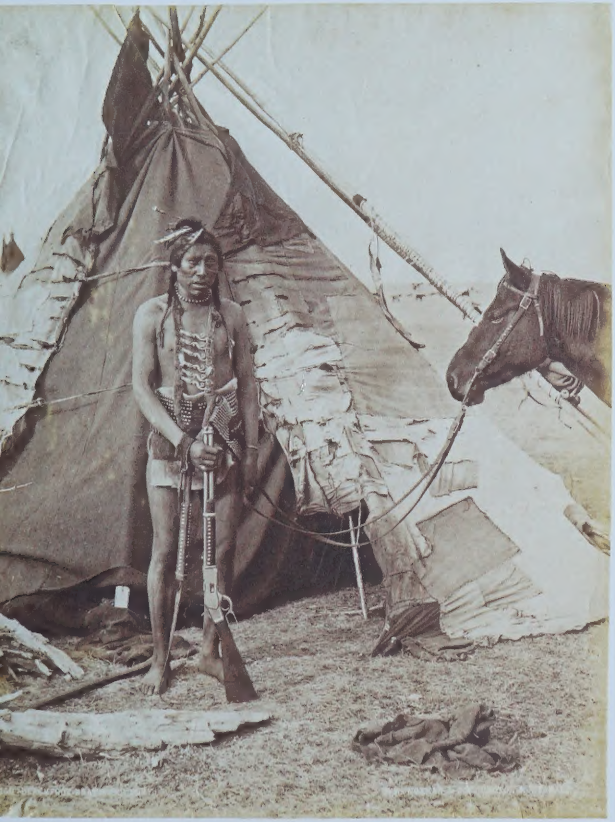
Published by Warwick Bros & Rutter of Toronto, this "Canadian Souvenir Postcard" reproduces a photograph of a Niitsitapiisini man that has been coloured using chromolithography.
Postcard. 8.9 x 14.0 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC009734

opposite page, left

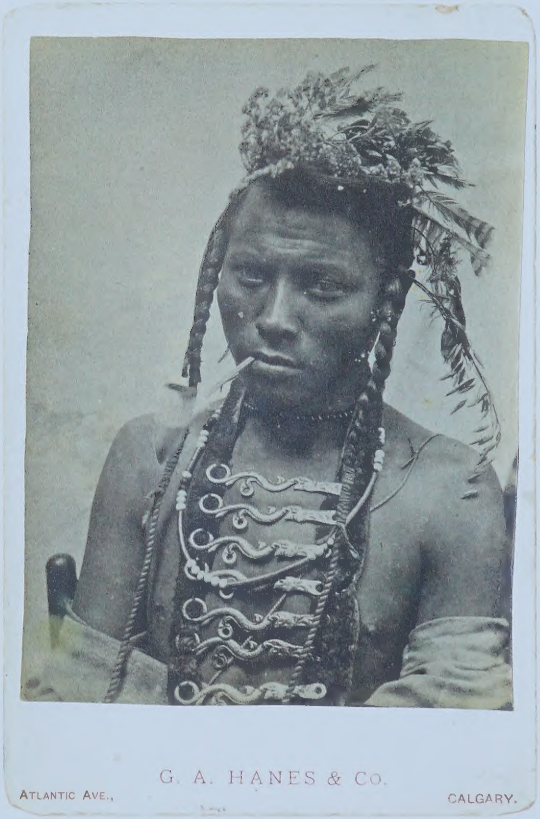
Studio portrait of Niitsitapiisini man.
Wm Notman & Son. Albumen. 23.8 x 18.6 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP089

opposite page, right

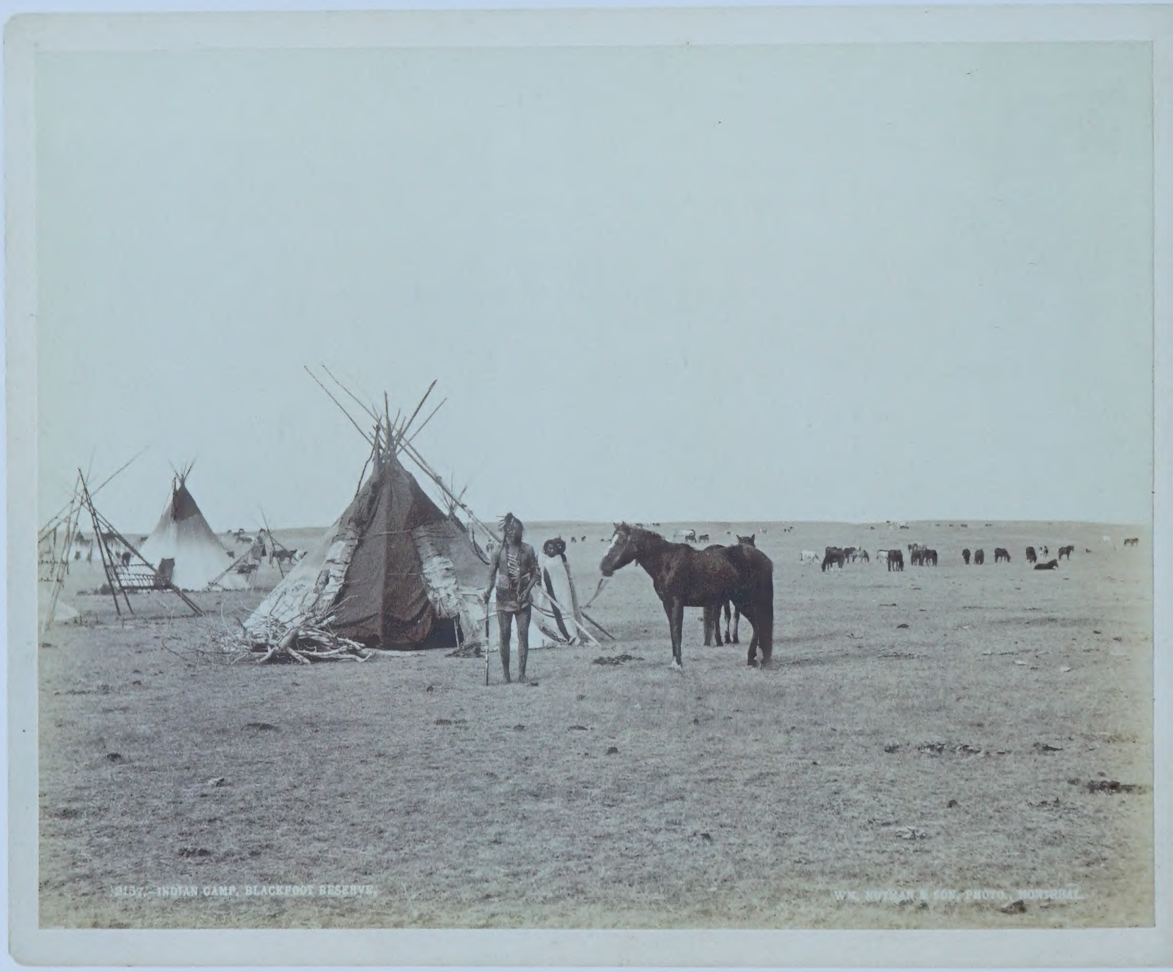
Niitsitapiisini man with pony.
G.A. Hanes & Co. Albumen. 16.5 x 10.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP251



IP089

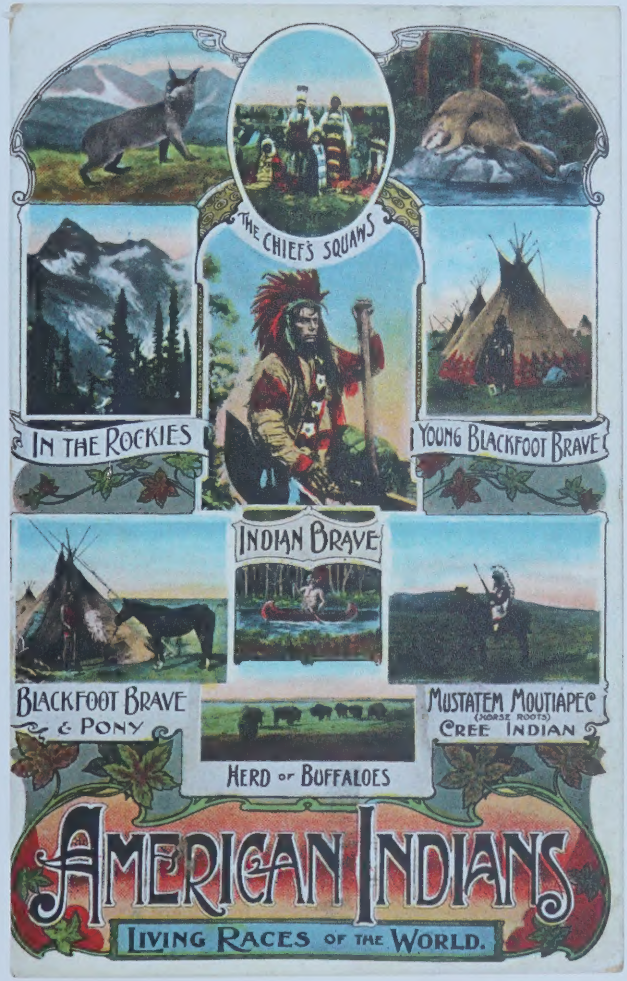

G. A. HANES & Co.
ATLANTIC AVE.,
CALGARY.

IP251



2157.—INDIAN CAMP, BLACKFOOT RESERVE.
WM. NOTMAN & SON, PHOTO., MONTREAL.

IP287


THE CHIEF'S SQUAWS
IN THE ROCKIES
YOUNG BLACKFOOT BRAVE
INDIAN BRAVE
BLACKFOOT BRAVE & PONY
MUSTATEM MOUTIAPEC (HORSE ROOTS) CREE INDIAN
HERD OF BUFFALOES
AMERICAN INDIANS
LIVING RACES OF THE WORLD.

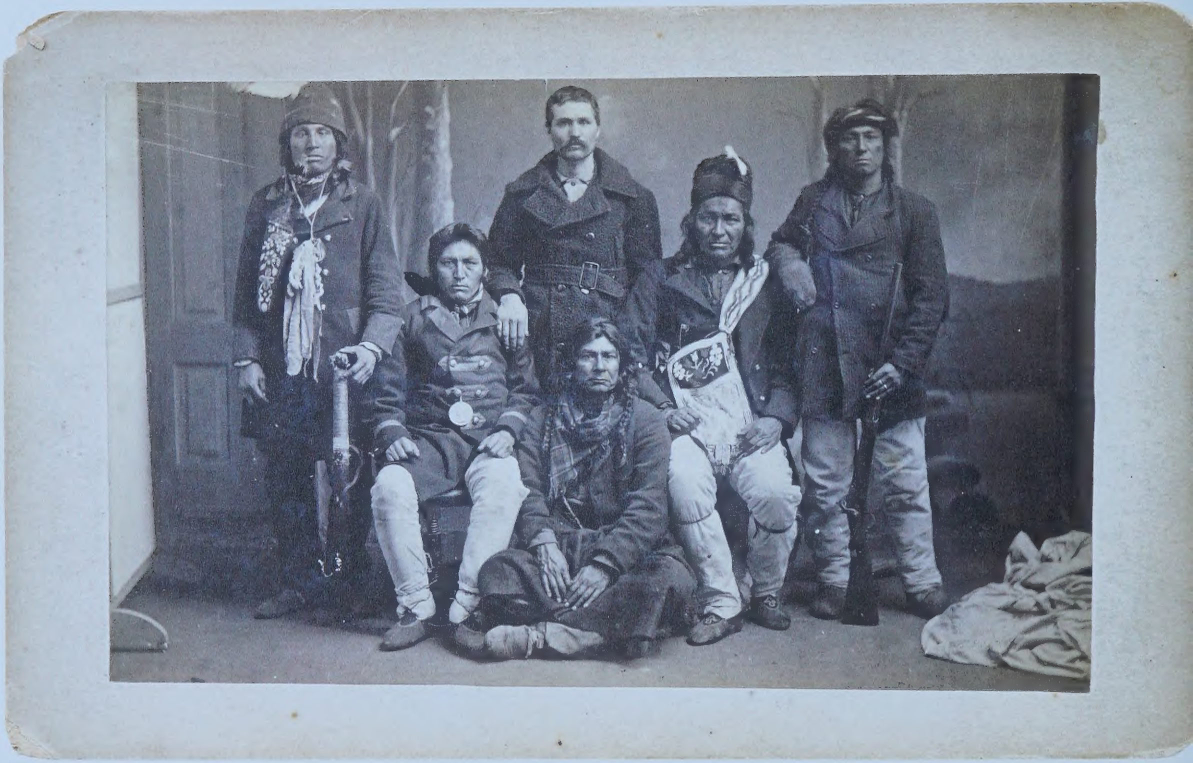
PC009679

opposite page

Niitsitapiisini family in front of tipi.
William Notman & Son. Albumen. 24.2 x 19.3 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP287

left

Published as part of Valentine's series "Living Races of the World" and printed in Great Britain, this postcard is a collage of photographs to which colour was later added. It includes several photographs in this collection. The compiler of the collage had no idea of what or who was captured in the photographs, and drew on racist labels. The "chief's squaws" for example, were distinguished members of the Niitsitapiisini women's Motokiks society. The postmark on this postcard is Belwood, Ontario, 30 December 1907.
Postcard. 13.9 x 8.8 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC009679



IP065

Leaders

Photographs of Indigenous male leaders have already been presented, but there are many more photographs of other male leaders in this collection.

These are unidentified men whose photograph (IP065) was taken at the Ross, Best & Co. studio in Winnipeg, dating from the 1880s. Art and material culture historian Sherry Farrell Racette thinks that these men are likely Plains Anishinaabe, and they appear to be wearing Chiefs' or Treaty coats (distributed by the federal government to Treaty Chiefs).[116] She thought that they might be leaders from Saugeen (Fort Alexander) or St. Peter's, and that the gentleman wearing the medal might be a member of the Prince family (descended from Chief Peguis). The bandolier bag worn by the man second from the right is characteristic of the Anishinaabe. The man at the centre back row may be an Indian agent.

Shown on the following page (IP217), Bull Head was a powerful Tsuut'ina chief and renowned warrior. He was said to have stood over seven feet tall. He is recalled by Elders as an astute negotiator at the Treaty 7 talks in 1877.

On page 101, the portrait (IP052) of Maesto Petah (Crow Eagle) is dated 1895. Crow Eagle was Chief of the North Piikani (Peigan) from 1890 until his death in 1901. He was a headman at the time of Treaty 7, placing his "X" on the document. Another photograph of him from that same 1895 sitting became a postcard (PEEL POSTCARD 9738).

opposite page

Studio portrait of a group of men, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
Ross, Best & Co. Albumen. 10.4 x 16.1 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP065

following double-page spread, left

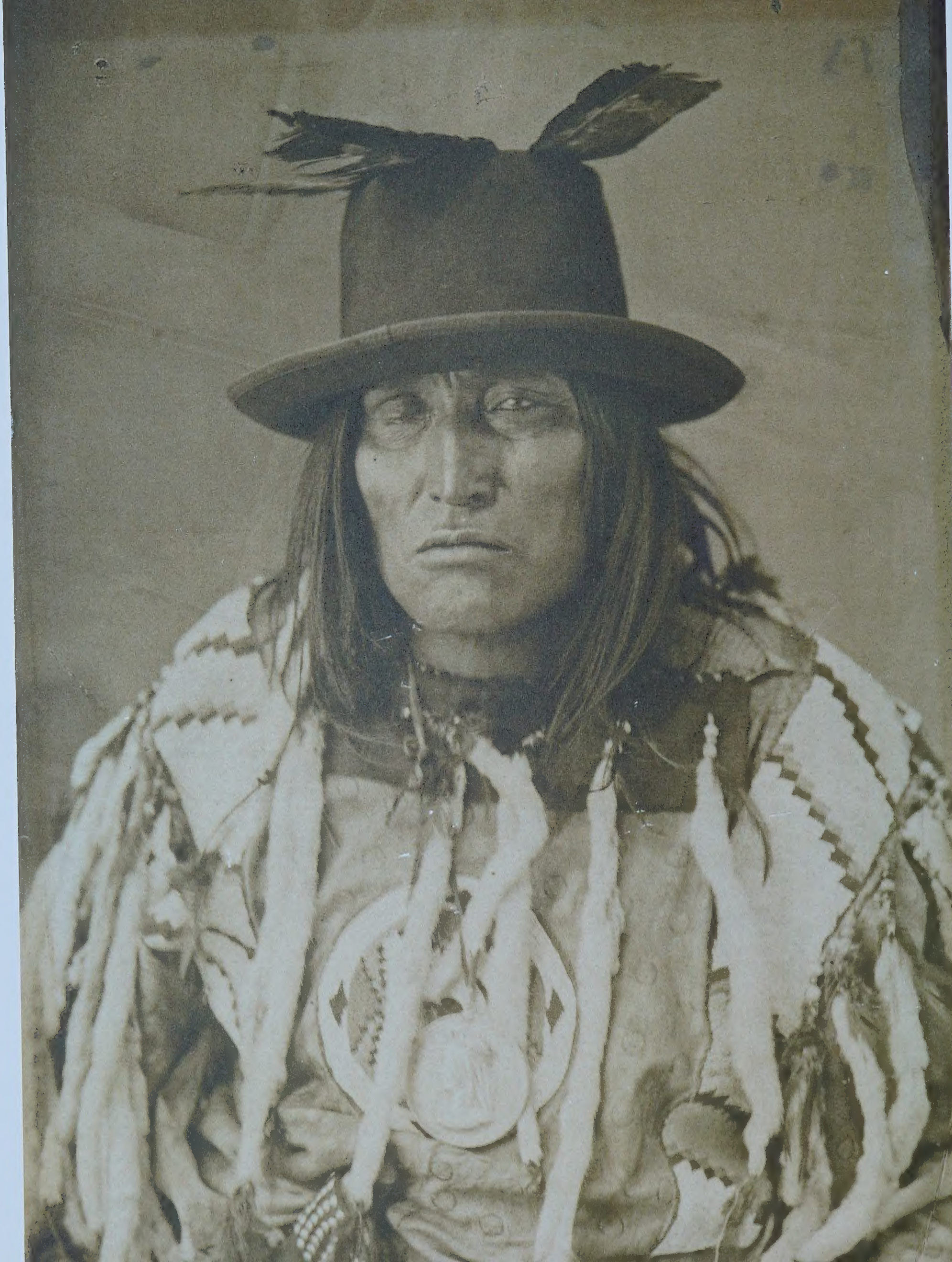
Studio portrait of Chief Bull Head, Tsuut'ina. The subject is identified in pencil on verso.
Collodion. 25.7 x 18.3 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP217

following double-page spread, right

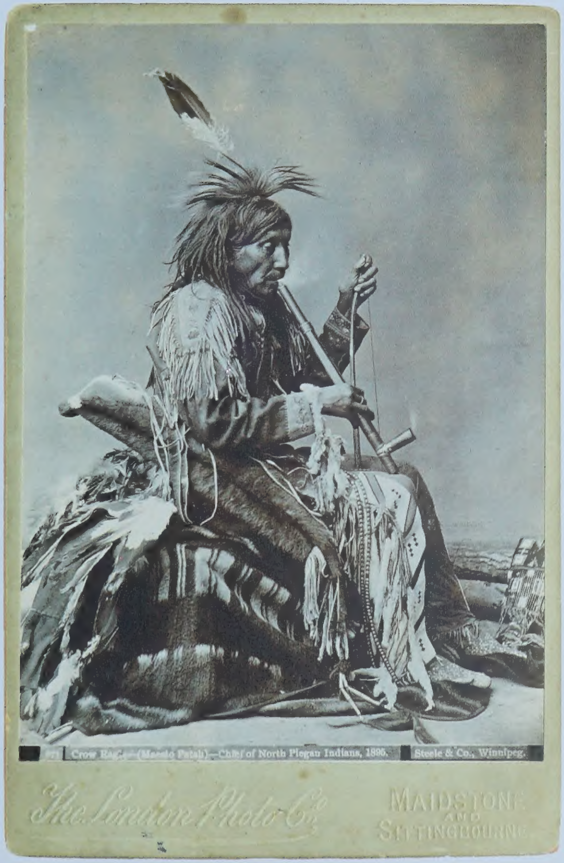
Studio portrait of Maesto Petah (Crow Eagle), Chief of North Piikani, 1895.
Steele & Co. Gelatin silver print. 14.7 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP052

following double-page spread, far right

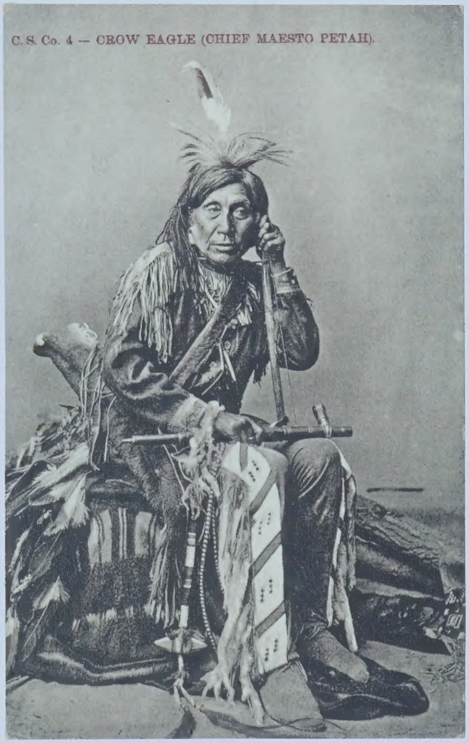
Published by C.S. Co. of Winnipeg and printed in Saxony, this postcard reproduces a studio portrait of Maesto Petah (Crow Eagle).
Steele & Co. Postcard. 13.8 x 8.7 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC009738



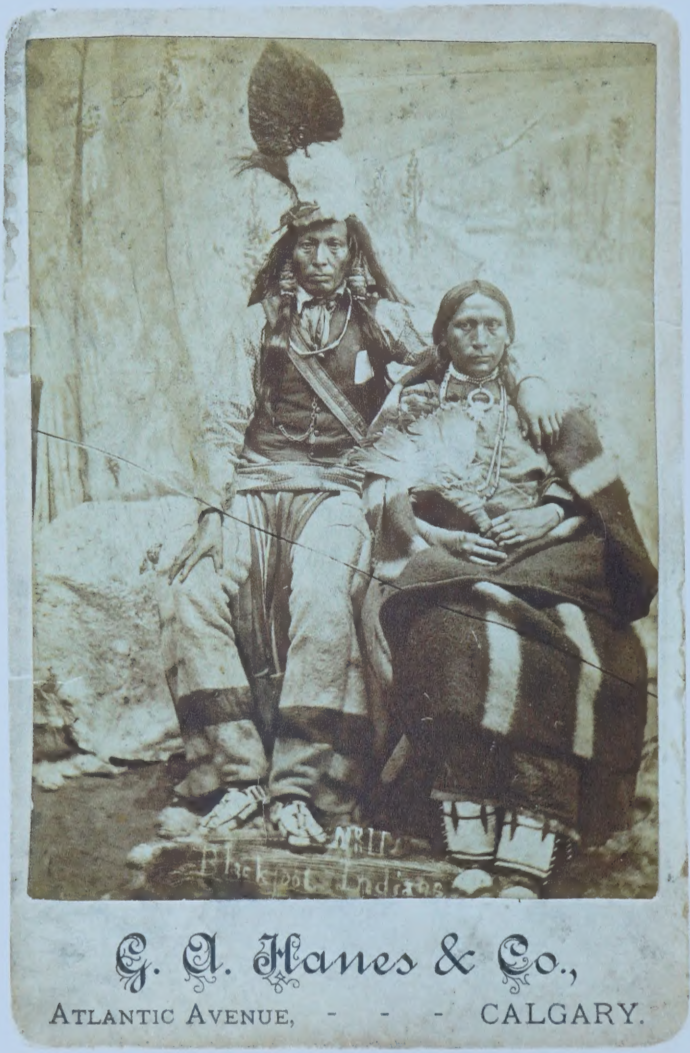
IP217


Crow Eagle—(Maesto Patah)—Chief of North Piegan Indians, 1895.
Steele & Co., Winnipeg.
The London Photo Co.
Maidstone and Sittingbourne

IP052


C. S. Co. 4 — CROW EAGLE (CHIEF MAESTO PETAH).

PC009738


No 117
Blackfoot Indians

G. A. Hanes & Co.,
ATLANTIC AVENUE, - - - CALGARY.

IP253

This Niitsitapiisini couple (IP253) is identified as Yellow Horse and his wife. Yellow Horse was a chief of the Niitsitapiisini.

Chief Chiniki of the Stoney Nakoda is the man standing in the photograph (IP038) on the following page. Tom Snow recognized this chief right away, identifying him as John or Tom Chiniki. Tom Snow is related to this Chief through his father, Tom Snow, after whom he is named. Tom stated that this is a serious photograph because the Chief is dressed in the pants associated with Chief's regalia and because of the number of ermine skins he is wearing. The pure white skin of the ermine was highly regarded.[117]

The man in the photograph (IP214) on page 105, Rabbit Carrier, was a Niitsitapiisini headman at the time of Treaty 7, placing his "X" on the document. Ramona Lowhorn confirmed that Rabbit Carrier was a Niitsitapiisini family name and said of the man in this photograph, "He was a councillor (leader); they wore those kind of jackets with those metal buttons. It was not everyday dress."[118]

opposite page

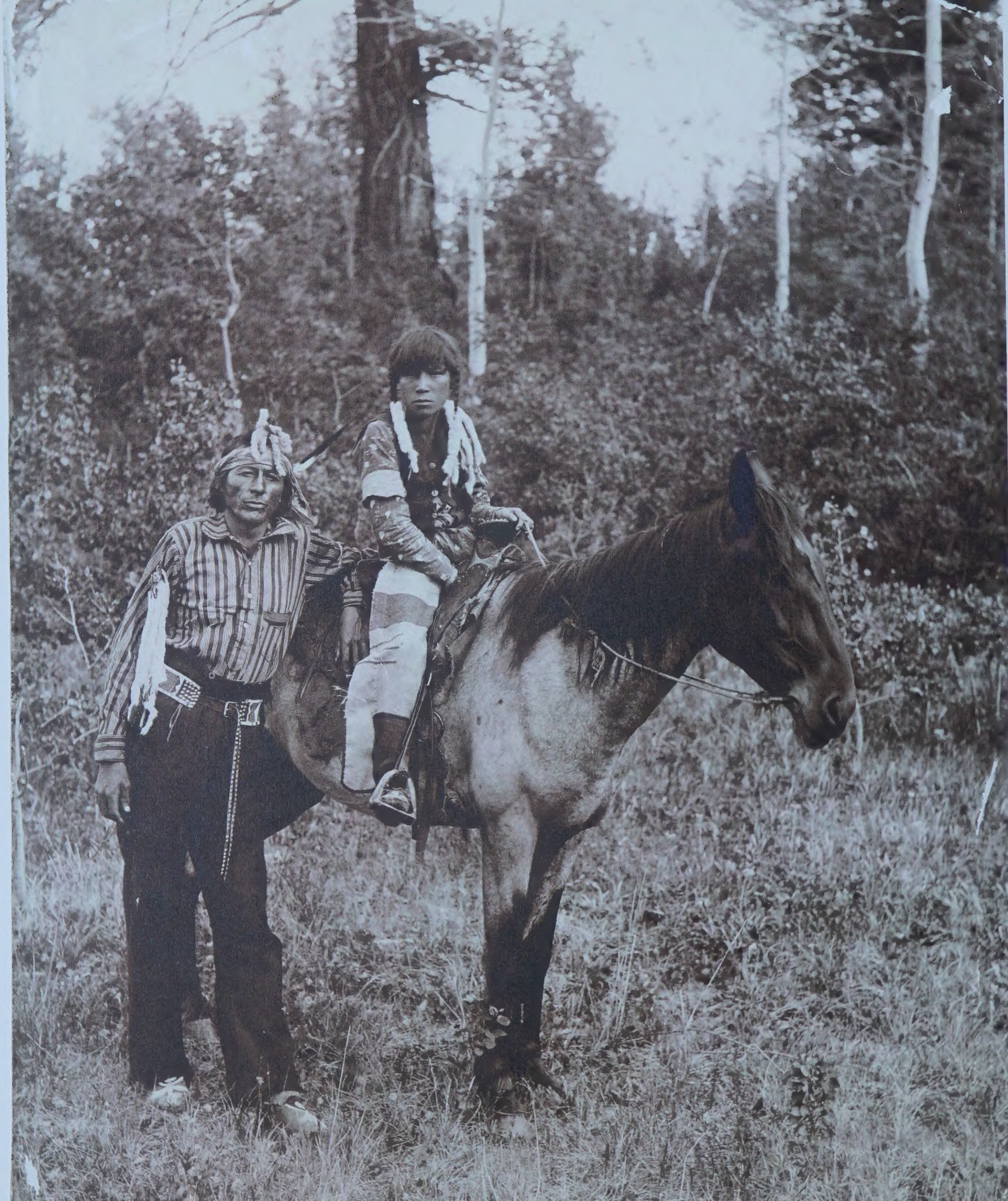
Studio portrait of Niitsitapiisini Chief Yellow Horse and his wife, as identified in a handwritten note on verso.
G.A. Hanes & Co. Albumen. 16.5 x 10.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP253

following double-page spread, left

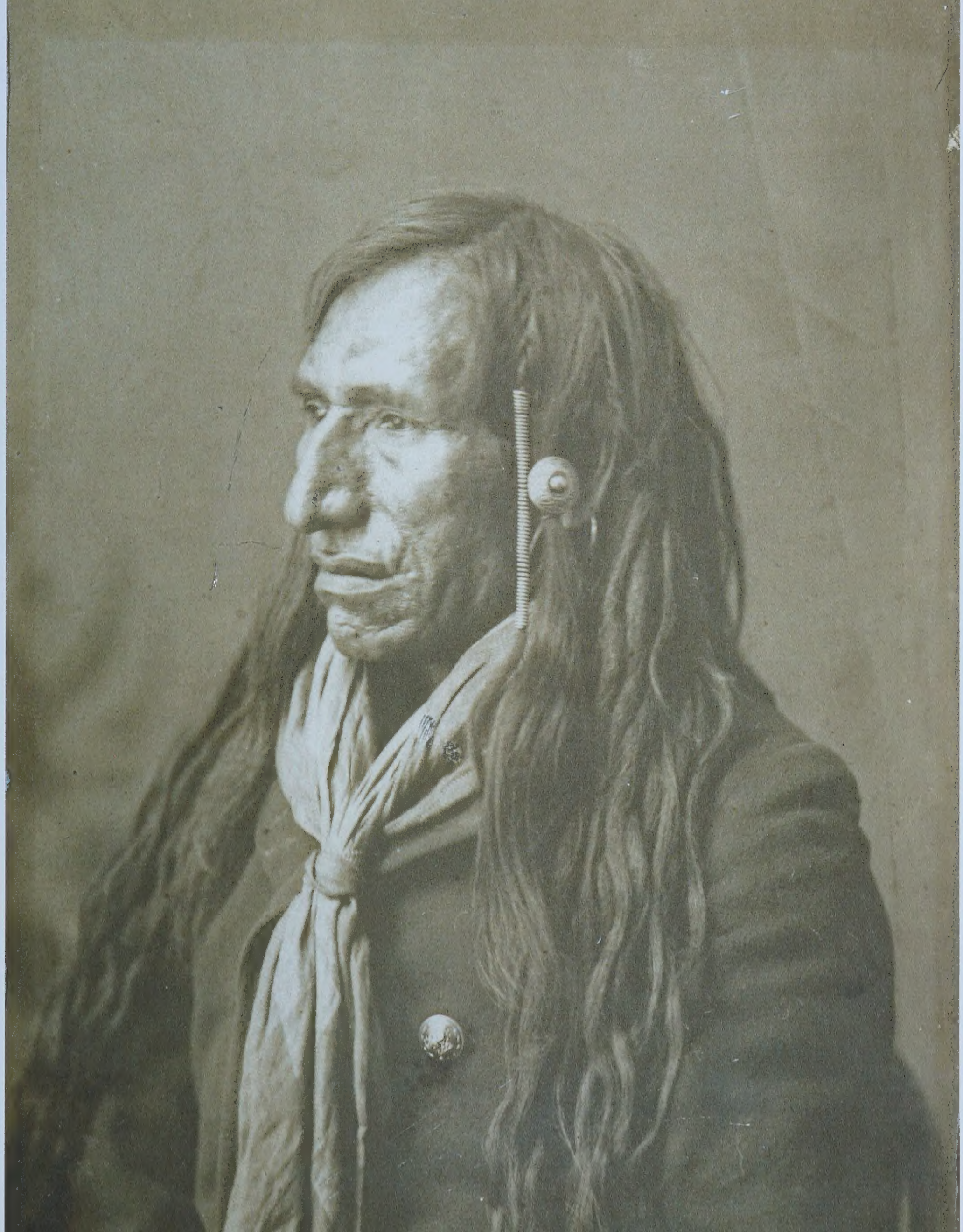
Chief Chiniki, Stoney Nakoda.
Stephen Joseph Thompson. Gelatin silver print. 23.4 x 18.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP038

following double-page spread, right

Rabbit Carrier, Niitsitapiisini.
Collodion. 25.2 x 18.8 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP214



IP038



IP214

opposite page, left

Chief Jonas Benjamin, Morley (North Side), in present-day Alberta.
George Noble. Gelatin silver print. 23.0 x 9.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP001

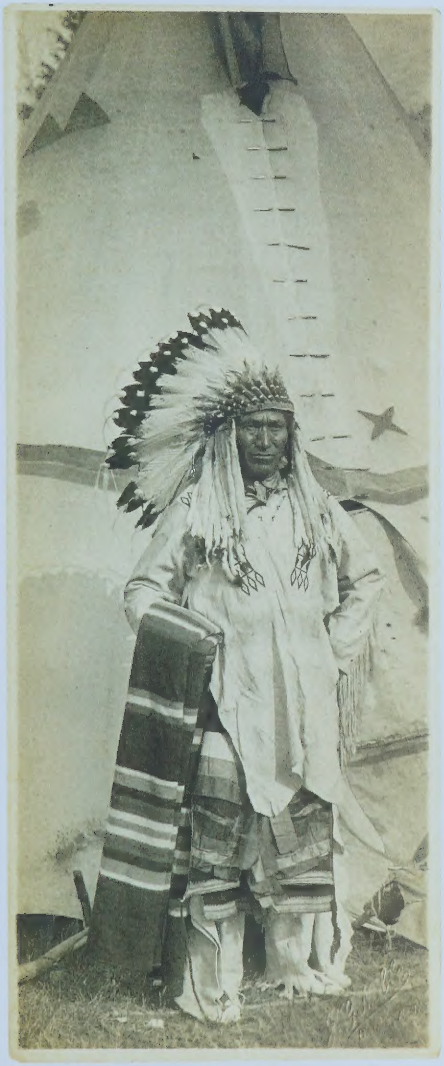
opposite page, right

Chief Jonas Benjamin, Morley (North Side). The subject is identified in a handwritten note on verso.
Hand-tint. 22.6 x 9.1 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP202

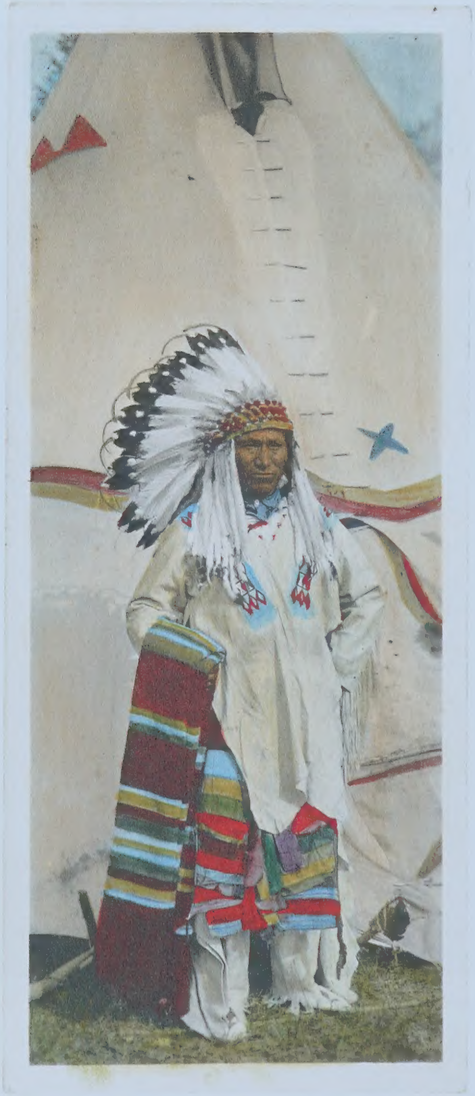
This is Jonas Benjamin (IP001 and IP202), Chief of the Stoney Nakoda at Morley. He is wearing full, traditional regalia. This is a very clear image of him taken beside a tipi; again, the use of many ermine skins on his clothing is a sign of leadership.

The photograph (IP193) on page 108 is of White Headed Chief. Allan Wolfleg remarked that White Headed Chief was the half brother of Chief Crowfoot: "That is Crowfoot's sacred hawk on his head. So that's his half brother. He is also wearing a treaty medal."[119]

Two prominent Stoney Nakoda leaders are shown in the page 109 photograph (IP007), which was taken by Calgary photographer Harry Pollard, possibly from the 1920s. Hector Crawler/Tchatkta or Chief White Head (standing centre) was a renowned healer of the Stoney Nakoda First Nation. He served as chief of the Wesley band. To his immediate right is Walking Buffalo/George McLean/Tataga Mani, Chief of the Bearspaw Band. Elder Tom Snow observed that to the left of Hector Crawler are three women in headdresses and that the tipi is a ceremonial tipi, larger than those used for families. He added that Hector Crawler was known to have developed a cure for the 1918 "Spanish" influenza.[120]



IP001



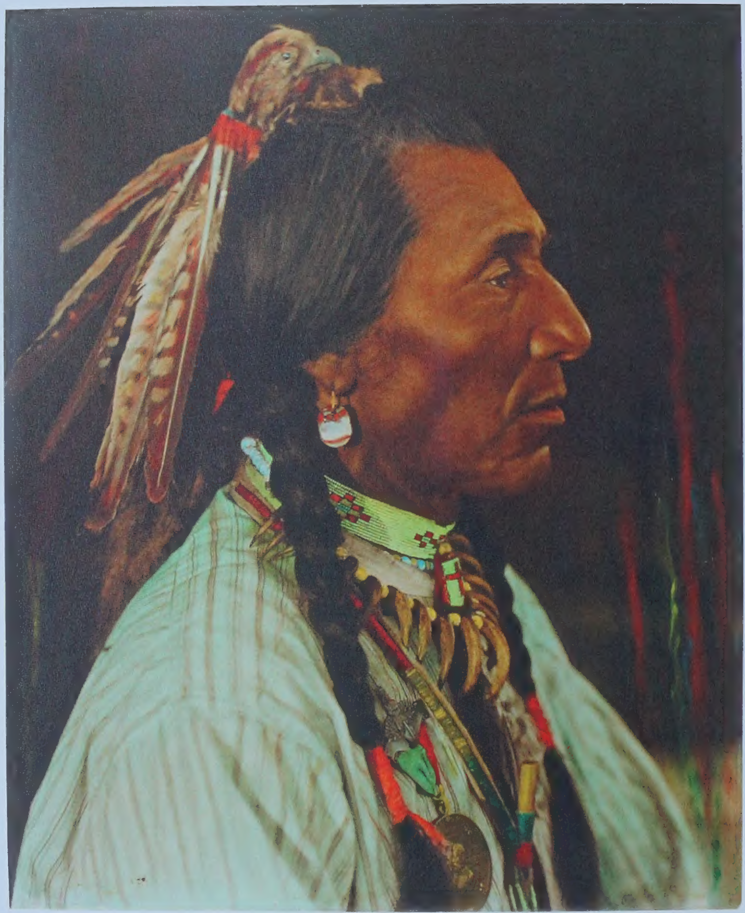
IP202

right

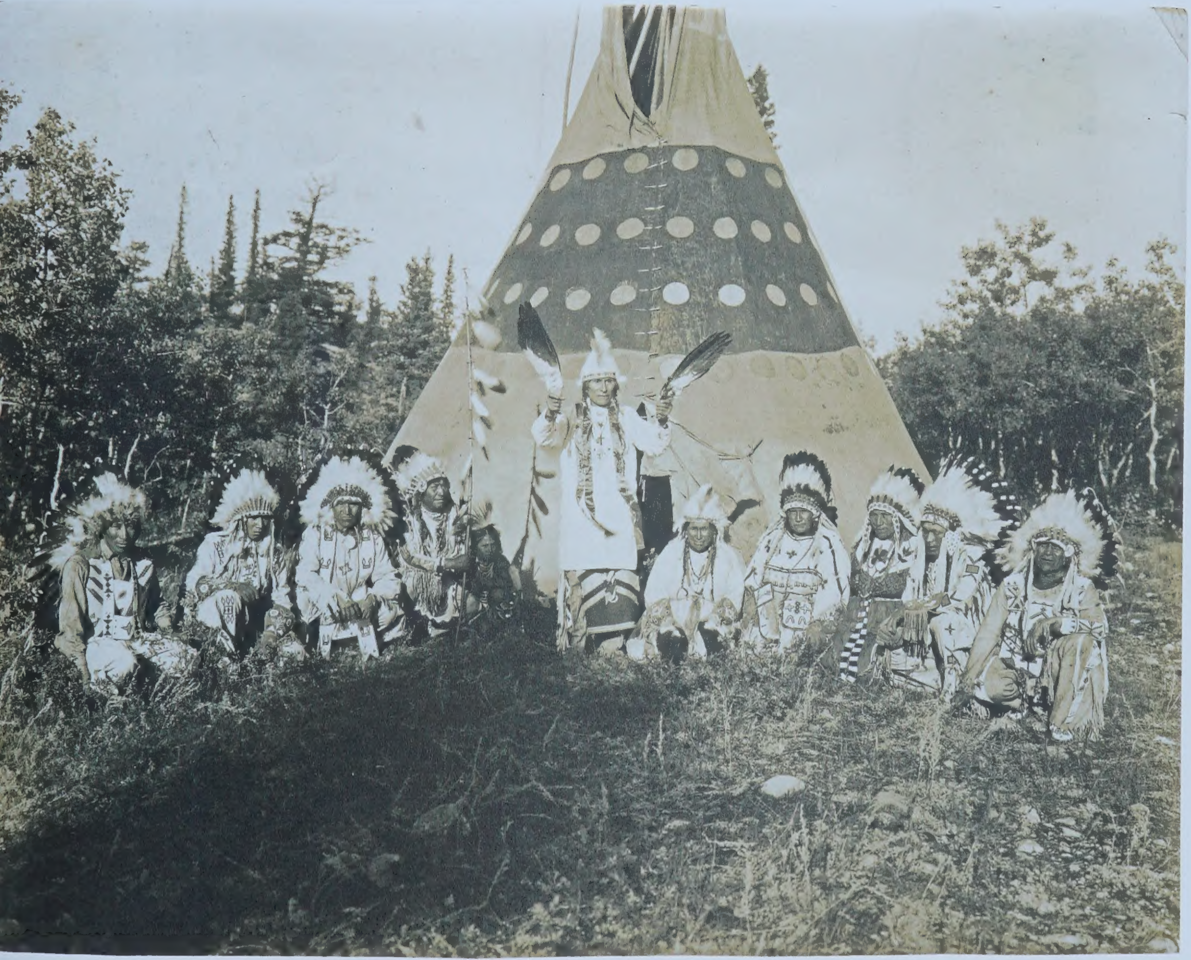
Studio portrait of White Headed Chief, Niitsitapiisini, as identified on a brass-coloured plate affixed to the front of the wooden frame (not shown).
H. Pollard. Hand-tint. 49.5 x 39.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP193

opposite page

Stoney Nakoda people, including Alone Walking Buffalo (third from left), Walking Buffalo (fourth from left), Chief White Head (centre), Wolf Teeth (ninth from left), and Savage Hunting Buffalo (right).
Harry Pollard. Gelatin silver print. 19.5 x 24.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP007



IP193



IP007

opposite page

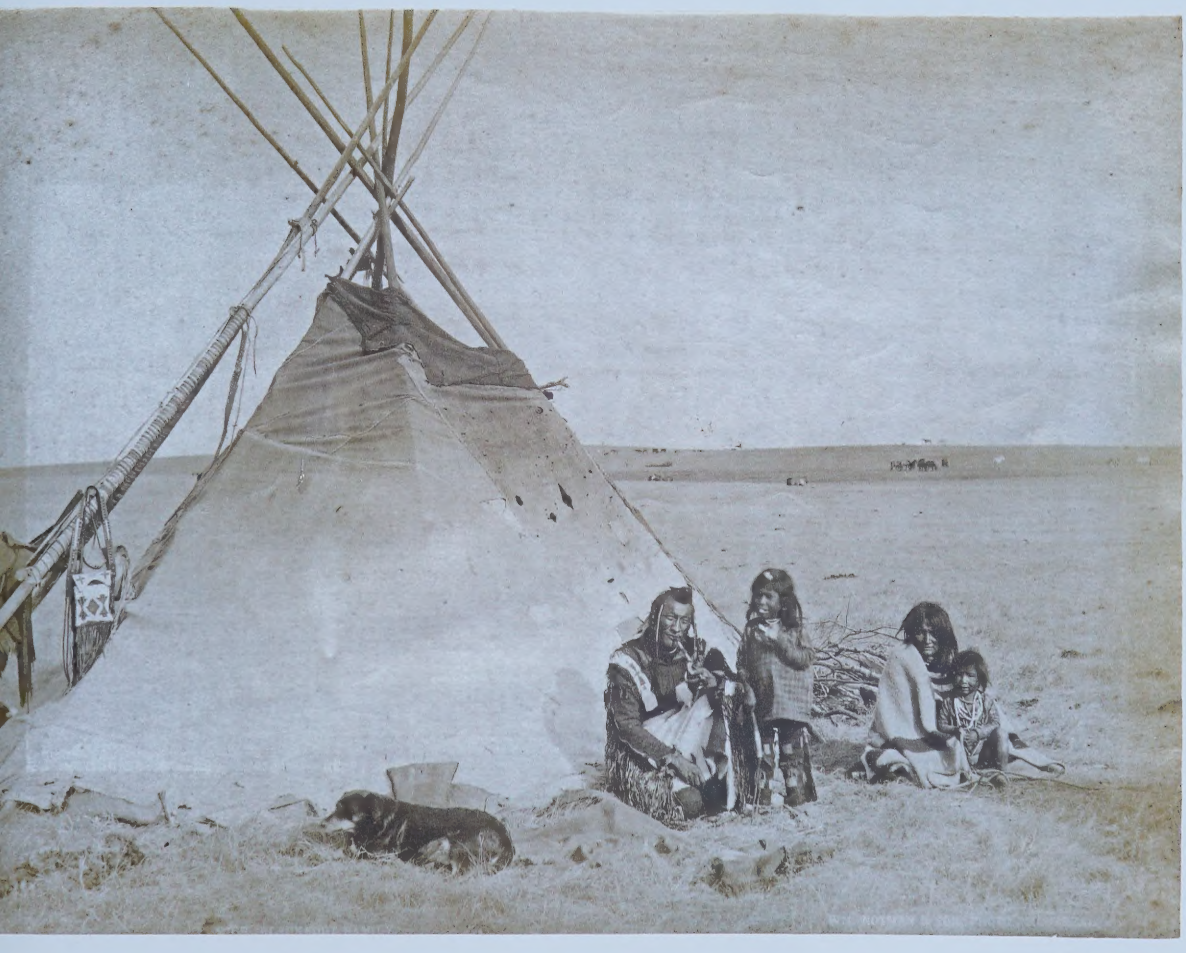
Niitsitapiisini family.
Wm Notman & Son. Albumen. 18.1 x 23.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP090

Families

Plains Indigenous peoples gathered in large groups during the summer months and dispersed into smaller family units during the winter months. Their extended families were of considerable size, and family composition was diverse. The family did not always conform to the desired settler model of the monogamous couple, as prominent males might have more than one wife. There are, however, few photographs in this collection that reflect family diversity.

This photograph (IP090) of a Niitsitapiisini family dates from the late nineteenth century. It was taken by Montreal photographer William Notman and Son. There is beautiful beadwork on the family members' attire and on the painted designs of the parfleche bag to the left. The family members are likely dressed for the photograph in their best attire.

Marvin Littlechild of Ermineskin Cree Nation identified in the image (IP027) on page 112 as showing members of his own family. His great-great-grandfather, Pierre Decoine, is fourth from the left at the back.



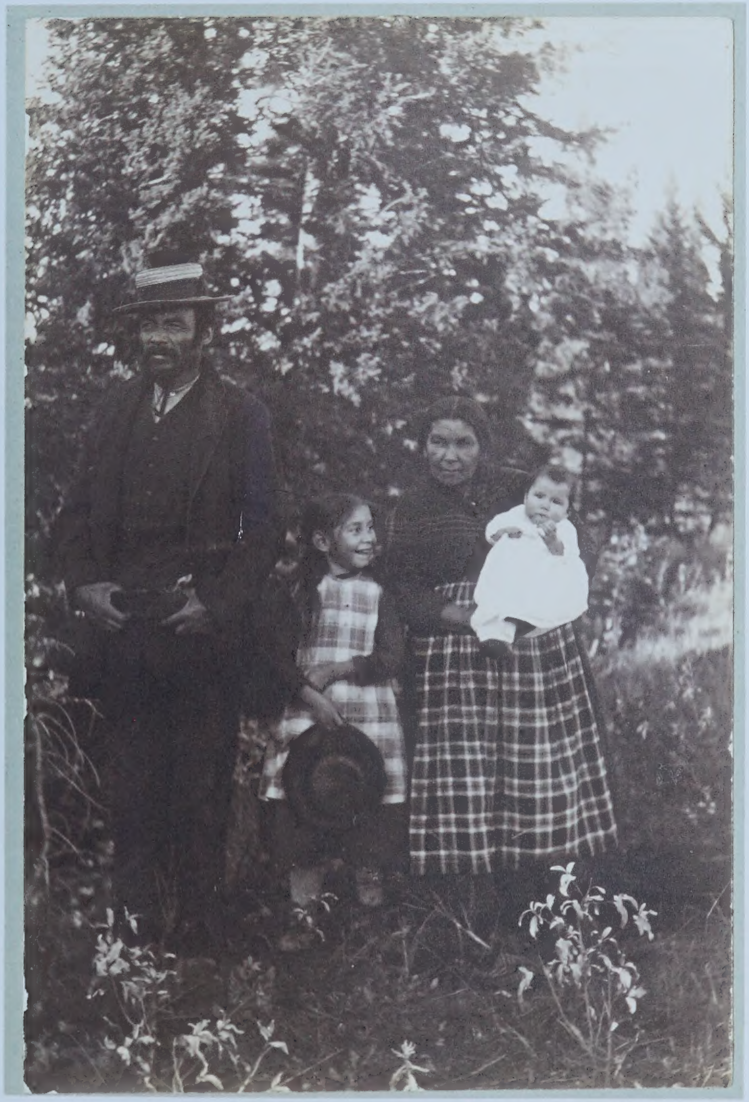
IP090

IP027

The photograph (IP028) on the facing page was likely taken of a central Alberta family.

A family, possibly from near Saskatoon, posed for Ralph Dill in the photograph (IP025) on page 114. The family is being visited by three settlers, including two women on bicycles.

Taken in southern Manitoba, the photograph (IP152) on page 115 is likely of a chief, as he wears the traditional Anishinaabe headdress, and both his wife and daughter are wearing the black beads of prestige, as Josephine Buffalo has pointed out. The daughter is wearing a dress most likely not for everyday wear, as there are rounded shells or flattened beads around the shoulders. Both women are wearing traditional braids, and the man has floral beadwork or applique on his pants, which is an Anishinaabe style of dress.



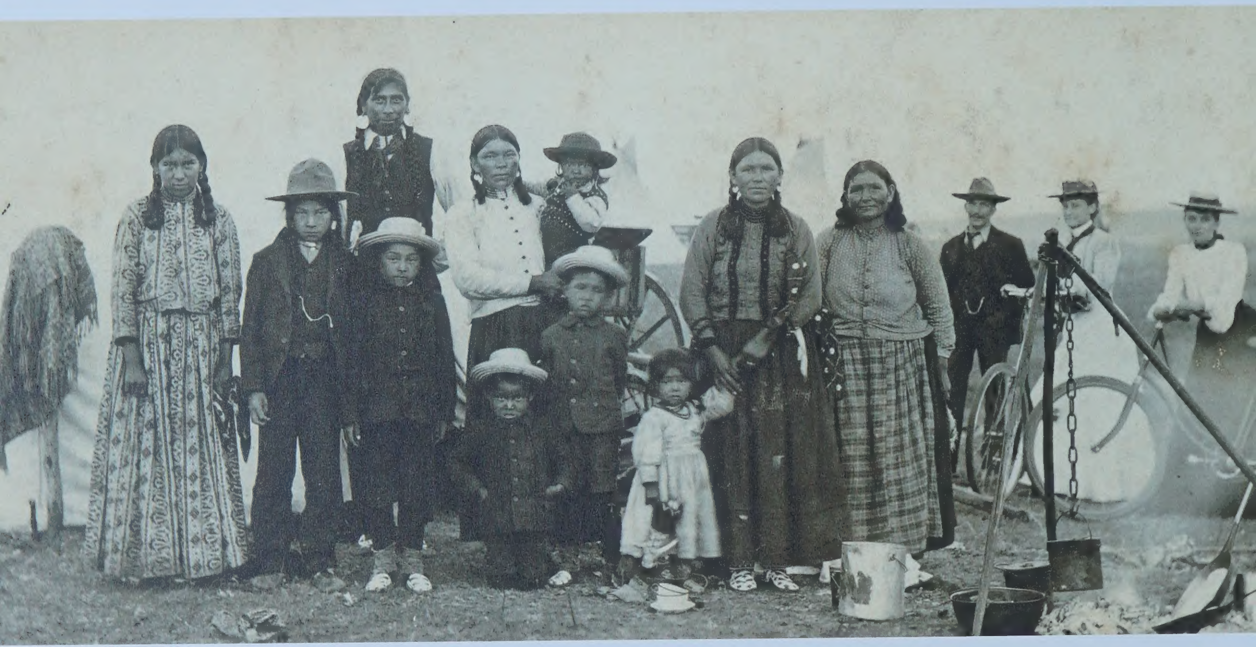
opposite page

Pierre Decoine and family. This is one of a series of photographs of Nehiyawak peoples in Alberta and Saskatchewan attributed to Thomas H. Mather.
Gelatin silver print. 10.0 x 15.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP027

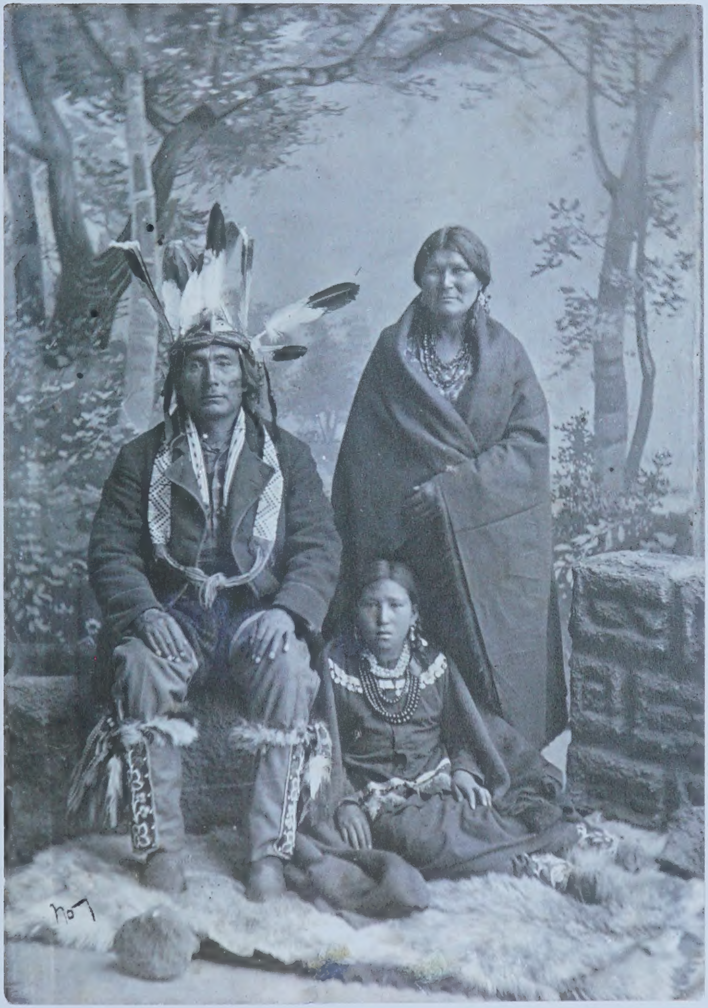
right

Indigenous family of four. This is one of a series of photographs of Nehiyawak peoples in Alberta and Saskatchewan attributed to Thomas H. Mather.
Gelatin silver print. 15.3 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP028

IP028



IP025



IP152

opposite page

Indigenous family with visitors, Saskatchewan.
R. Dill. Gelatin silver print. 7.4 x 17.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP025

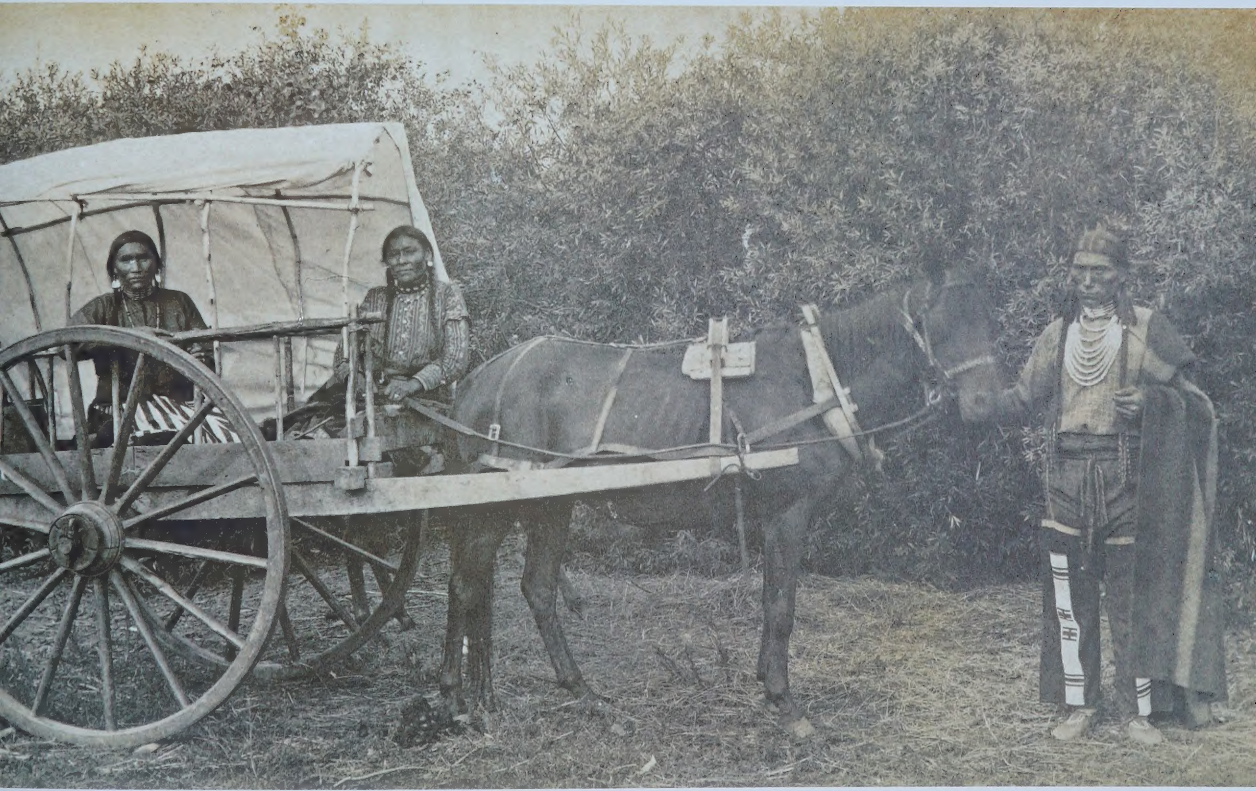
left

Studio portrait of an Indigenous man, woman, and young girl.
Davidson Bros. Albumen. 14.1 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP152

opposite page

Souwangeshick and two women, Qu'Appelle, Northwest Territories.
Frederick Steele. Albumen. 11.0 x 19.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP051

The people in this photograph (IP051) are identified as two Nehiyawak women and "Souwangeshick" of Qu'Appelle, Northwest Territories. Elders identified the name of the man as meaning "End of the Day." Josephine Buffalo thought his name could mean "Yellow Sky"—Osawak keshik—and that the name might be Saulteaux rather than Nehiyawak.[121] The women are wearing earrings made of pink shells, known as wapesak. These shells were also recognized as signs of prestige. Buffalo further stated that men could have two wives back then; this went on until the mid 1940s.[122]



IP051

opposite page

Indigenous guides, Castle Mountain.
Gelatin silver print. 11.3 x 16.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP020

following double-page spread, left

Stereograph: one of a series of "Stereoscopic views along the Canadian Pacific Railway," titled "Blackfoot camp after a day's hunt."
A.B. Thom. Albumen. 10.0 x 15.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP162

following double-page spread, right

Jim Delaney and friends, Edmonton.
C.W. Mathers. Gelatin silver print. 20.2 x 25.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP043

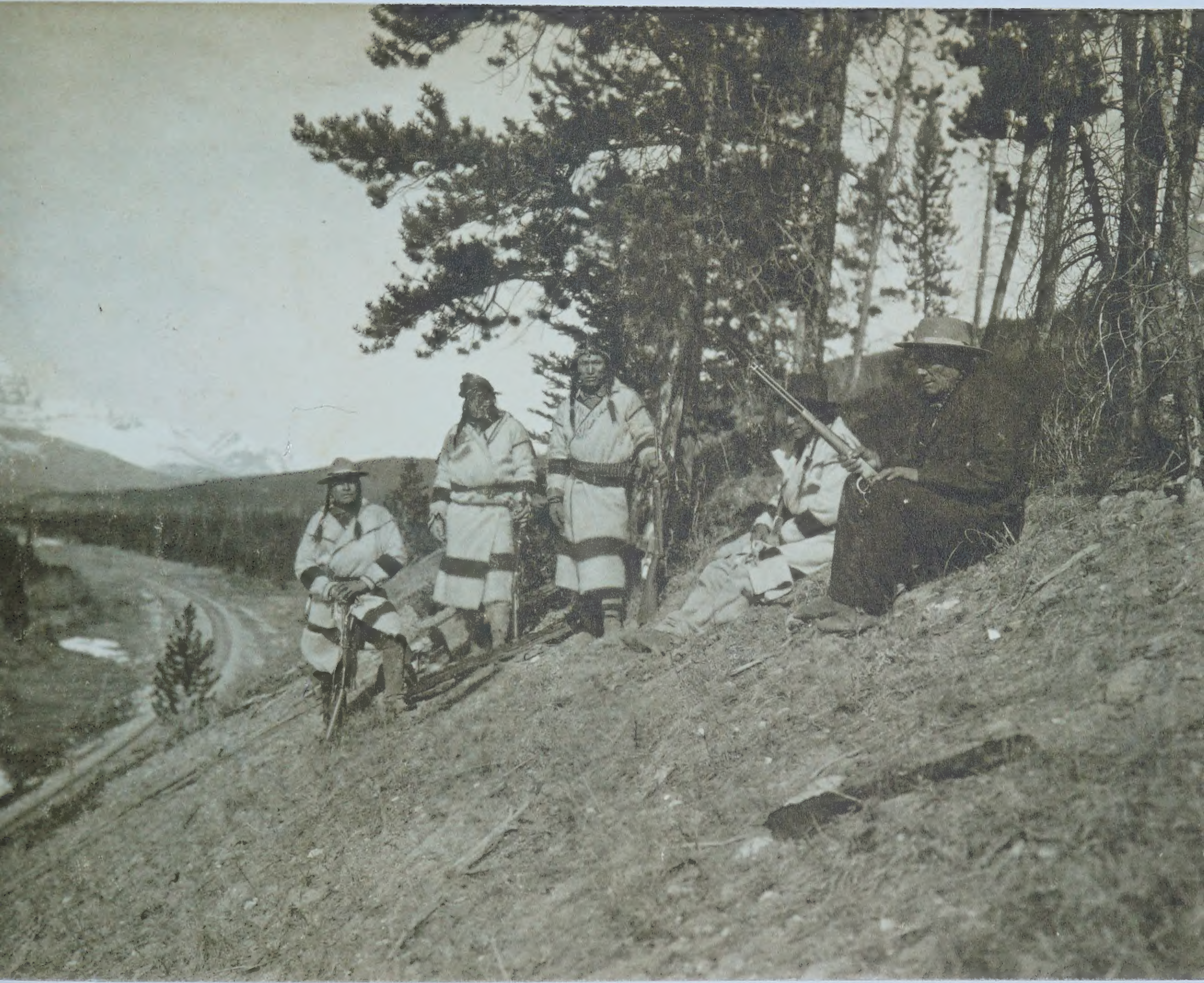
Commerce and Labour

Indigenous men and women of the West engaged in a variety of forms of labour including seasonal and casual, paid and unpaid, and they produced and sold products such as hides, furs, game meat, fish, berries, clothing, and beadwork. A few photographs in this collection capture this diversity of labour and commerce.

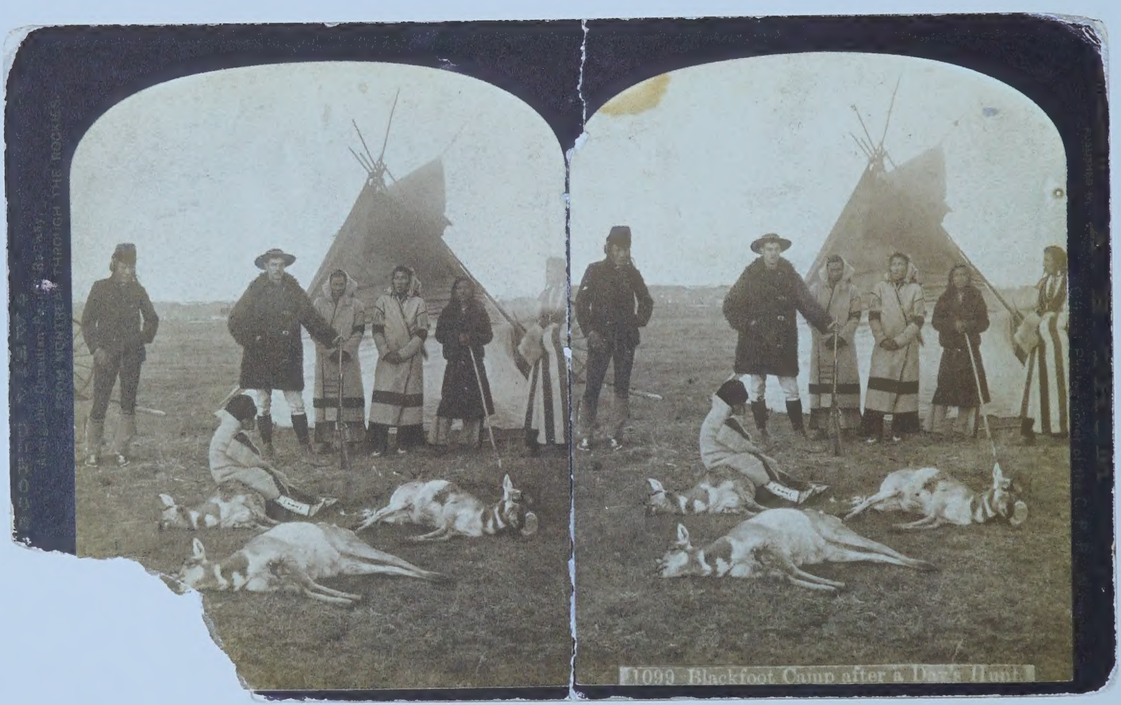
Indigenous men worked as guides for traders, hunters, and tourists. These are guides (IP020) at Castle Mountain, north of Banff. Bill Snow noted that these strong guides are standing near the railway line; a utility pole is visible in the background.[123] Four of the guides wear Hudson's Bay Company blanket jackets. Mike Meguinis further observed that this photograph was taken in front of the river. He said they used to hunt on Blueberry Hill, which is beside the river, right on top. He remarked that there are still hunters in his community who dress the same way and "that's how they used to hunt deer and bears, with shotguns."[124]

When Ramona Lowhorn saw A.B. Thom's "Blackfoot Camp after a Day's Hunt" (IP162, page 120) she recalled that settler hunters hired her people as guides.[125] Allan Wolfleg stated that antelope were hunted near Medicine Hat and that the guides in this photograph are wearing Hudson's Bay jackets (similar to those worn by the Indigenous guides shown here, IP020).[126]

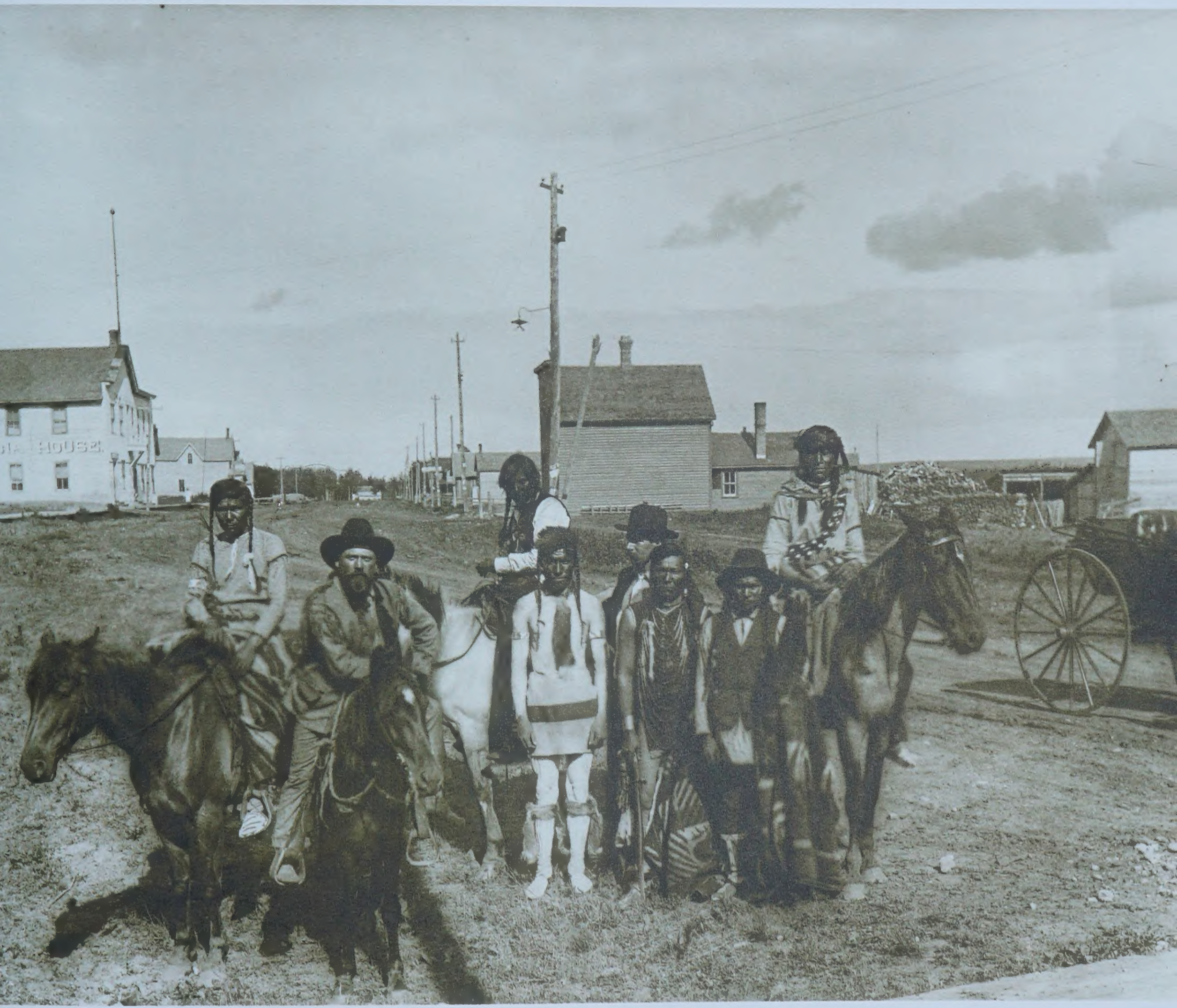
The photograph (IP043) shown on page 121 is of a celebration that trader Jim Delaney hosted for his Indigenous guides. It was a barbeque on Jasper Avenue, Edmonton in 1902 that had been organized by Delaney, who worked on the Edson Trail.[127] The Columbia Hotel, formerly the Immigration Hall, is visible to the left.[128]



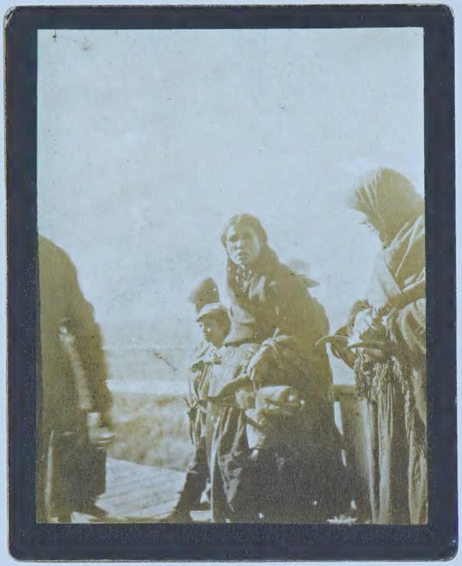
IP020


1099 Blackfoot Camp after a Day's Hunt.
FROM NIAGARA THROUGH THE ROCKIES.

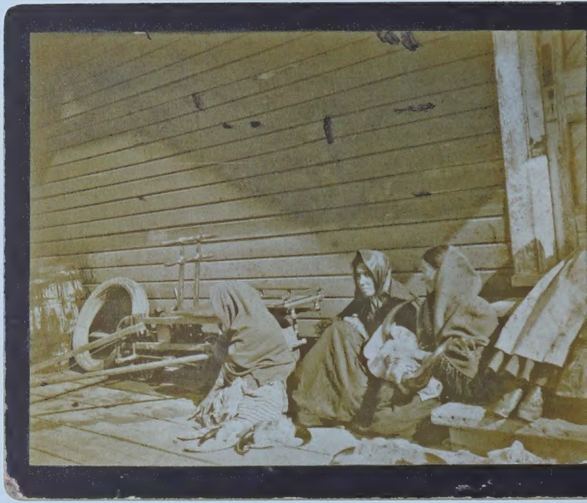
IP162



IP043



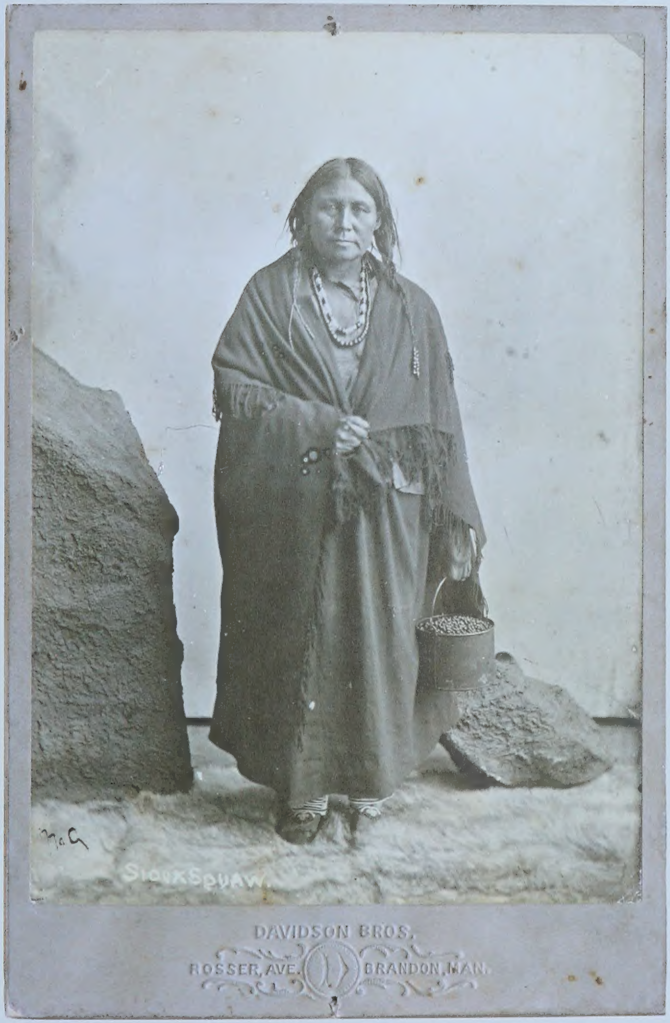
IP170



IP171

The women in these photographs (IP170 and IP171) are selling polished buffalo horns at Moose Jaw, Northwest Territories (IP170), and at Goose Lake, Alberta (IP171). Buffalo horns were sold to passengers at train stations. Memoirs by travellers across the plains by rail mentioned this prized souvenir. In 1887 buffalo horns were $1.50 to $2.00 a pair.[129] The women are on the boardwalk platform of the station, and there is a non-Indigenous boy beside one of the women; "you can tell by his hair-cut, his hat, and the way he is dressed, wearing boots"[130] stated Josephine Buffalo.

Identified as "Sioux," the woman (IP151) shown on the facing page holds a pail of berries. Dakota and other Indigenous women of Manitoba sold berries to settlers and travellers.


Ma. G
Sioux Squaw.
DAVIDSON BROS.
ROSSER, AVE.
BRANDON, MAN.

opposite page, left

Indigenous women and children. Handwriting on verso indicates that the people are Assiniboine and locates them in Moose Jaw.
Albumen. 11.9 x 9.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP170

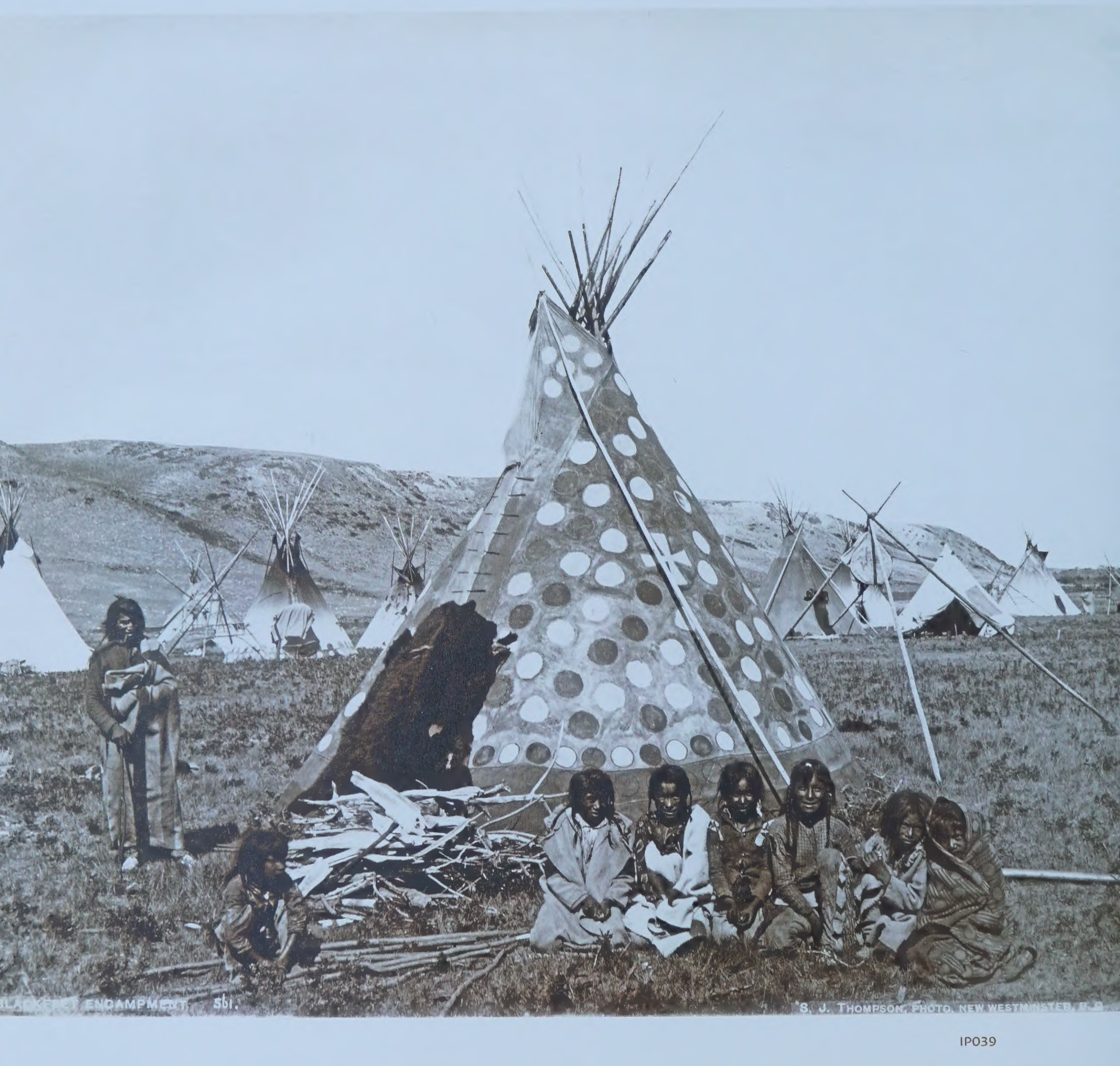
opposite page, right

Indigenous women. Handwriting on verso indicates that they are selling buffalo horns near Goose Lake.
Albumen. 9.5 x 12.1 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP171

left

Studio portrait of a Dakota woman.
Davidson Bros. Albumen. 14.2 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP151

IP151


BLACKFEET ENCAMPMENT 561.
S. J. THOMPSON, PHOTO. NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

IP039

Tipis

Tipis are central to the rich cultural and material heritage of Plains Indigenous Peoples. Originally made from buffalo hides, they housed people from ancient times. They were the ideal mobile, adaptable dwelling: cool in summer and warm in winter with liners and insulation, they provided good ventilation in all seasons. At the time of many of the photographs in this collection there was a transition from buffalo hides to canvas. The buffalo hide tipis in some of the photographs show their age in wear and tear, as do some of the canvas tipis. In many of the photographs of encampments there are tripods outside each tipi. Marvin Littlechild explained that in the past everyone had a tripod for drying everything; it was like a clothesline, where blankets were aired, for example.[131]

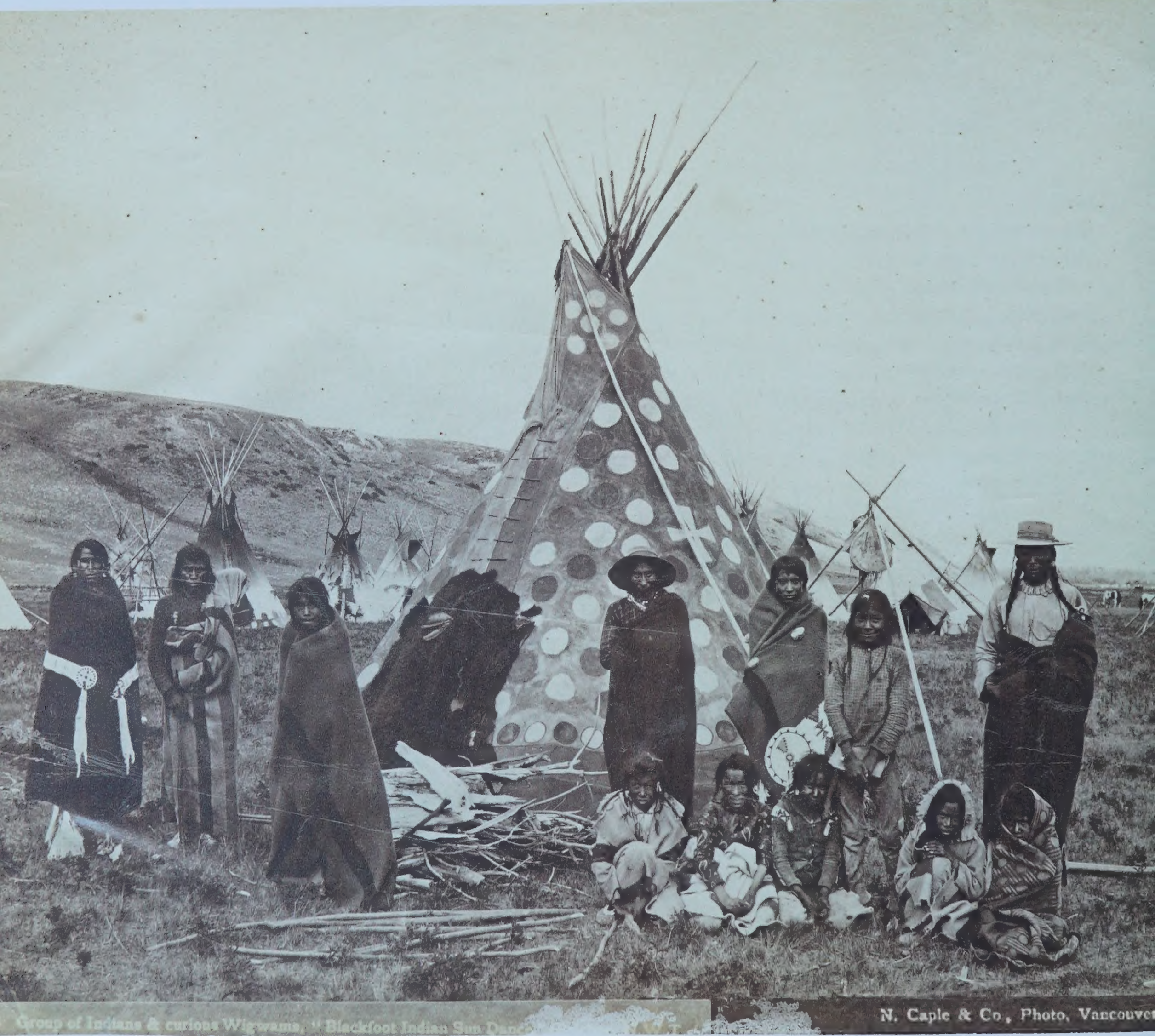
Tipis differed in size, purpose, decor, and construction. The largest were ceremonial. Women made, erected, and dismantled tipis. Many tipis were painted, and men were the painters. The Niitsitapiisini were renowned for their tipi designs depicting prominent events in the history of their nation or the owner, or religious, ceremonial symbols known to protect the people within. Designs were acquired through dreams and fasting, and they were the exclusive property of their owners, who might transfer them. Designs were passed down through generations, and their ownership was guarded because of their power and sacred character.[132]

The photograph on the facing page (IP039) and the one on page 126 (IP201) are of the same tipi with ceremonial symbols. When Niitsitapiisini Elder Allan Wolfleg saw these he said,

> That is my tipi. It was transferred back from the Bloods in 1976. The circles are the fox holes of the Crow. The dark holes are where the warriors got killed. The yellow line and the red line are war paint; just like how we paint our foreheads red, across the eyes and nose, we would paint these areas yellow. Those puffballs represent when people came back from the three stars.[133]

opposite page

Niitsitapiisini encampment.
Stephen Joseph Thompson. Gelatin silver print.
18.3 x 23.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP039


Group of Indians & curious Wigwams, " Blackfoot Indian Sun Danc[illegible] N.W.T.
N. Caple & Co., Photo, Vancouver

IP201

He explained how the tipi design represents the Second Crow Medicine Lodge. There were four battles and four warriors. The cross represents a female moth, dreams, and how "everything starts from the mother."[134] The male moth is on the other side of the tipi.

The photograph (IP198) on the next page is of a Kainai tipi at Belly River, Alberta. Taken by Calgary Photographer Sidney A. Smyth, it dates from between 1883 and 1900, most likely from the 1880s.

Tipis with ceremonial designs were less common among the Nehiyawak than among the Treaty 7 people. The photograph (IP021) on page 129 is from Onion Lake (Saskatchewan), a Nehiyawak First Nation. Three tipis are shown in the foreground and two in the background. Some distance in front of the tipi on the far right, a man stands holding his daughter's hand, and a woman appears in the doorway of the tipi.

opposite page

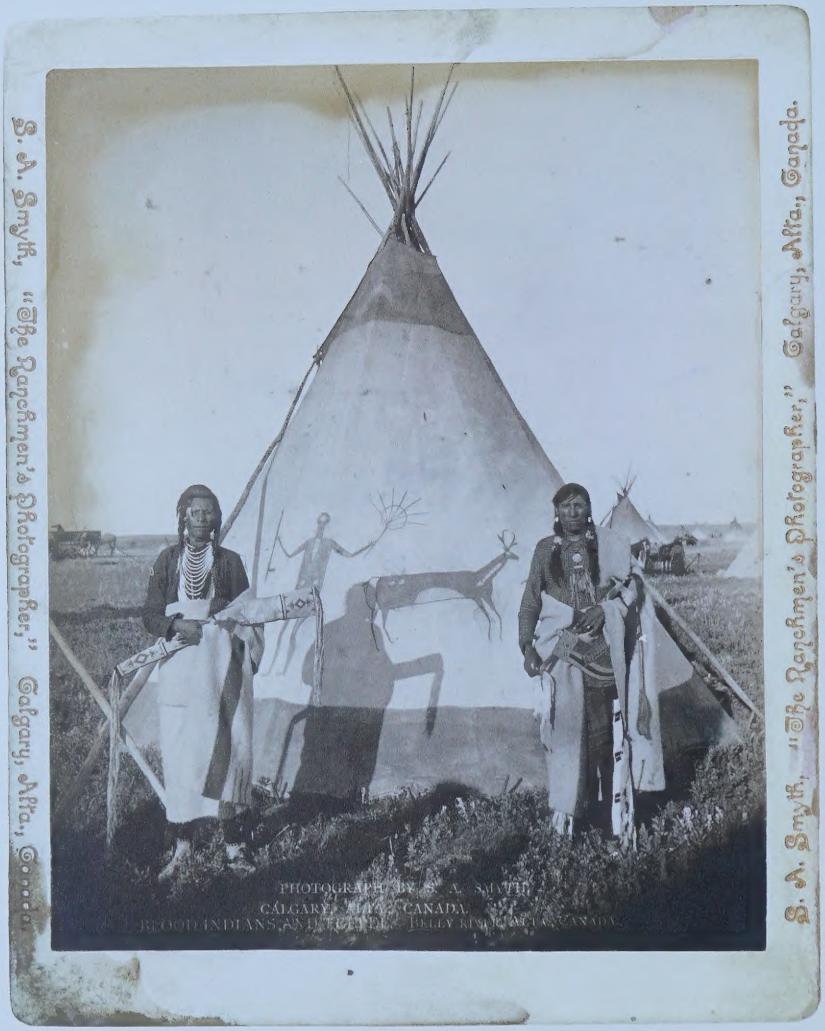
Group of Niitsitapiisini men and boys in front of decorated tipis, near Gleichen, Alberta. The photographer's printed caption indicates that they are gathering for the Sun Dance.
N. Caple & Co. Albumen. 19.0 x 24.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP201

following double-page spread, left

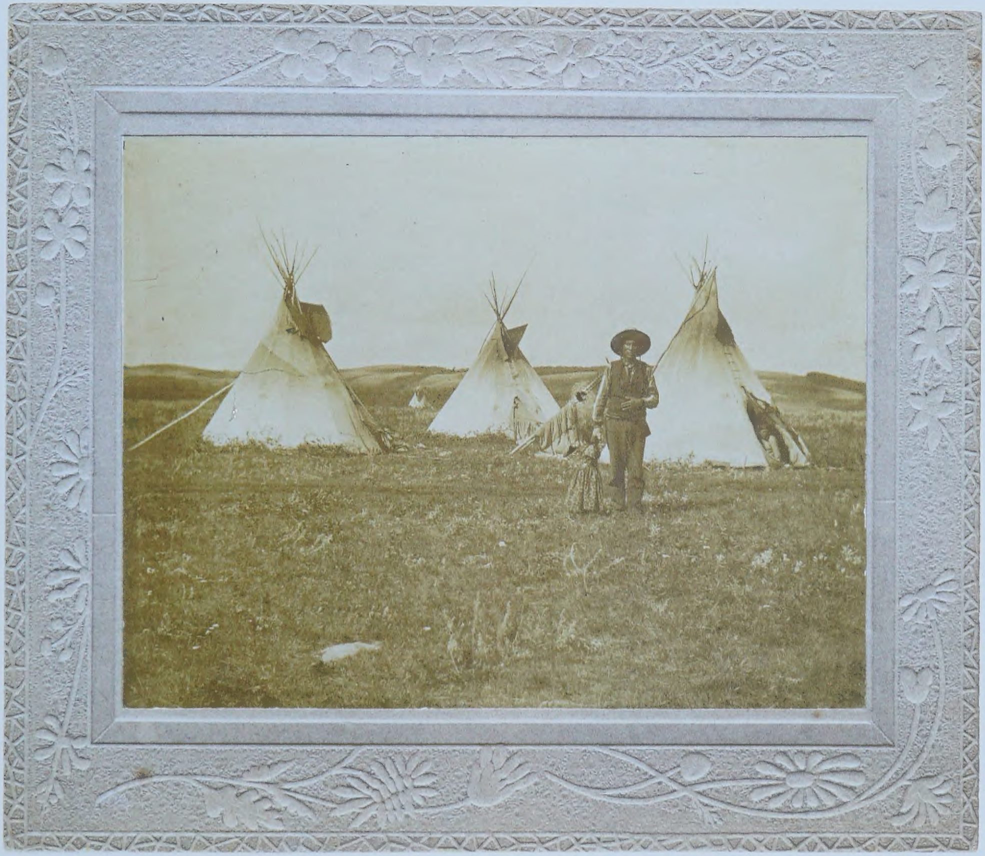
Two men pose in front of tipi in a Kainai camp, Belly River.
S.A. Smyth. Albumen. 22.1 x 17.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP198

following double-page spread, right

Man in front of three tipis. The handwritten note on verso indicates that it was taken at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan.
Gelatin silver print. 9.5 x 12.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP021


S. A. Smyth, "The Ranchmen's Photographer," Calgary, Alta., Canada.
PHOTOGRAPH BY S. A. SMYTH
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA.
BLOOD INDIANS AND TEPEE — BELLY RIVER, ALTA., CANADA.
S. A. Smyth, "The Ranchmen's Photographer," Calgary, Alta., Canada.

IP198



IP021

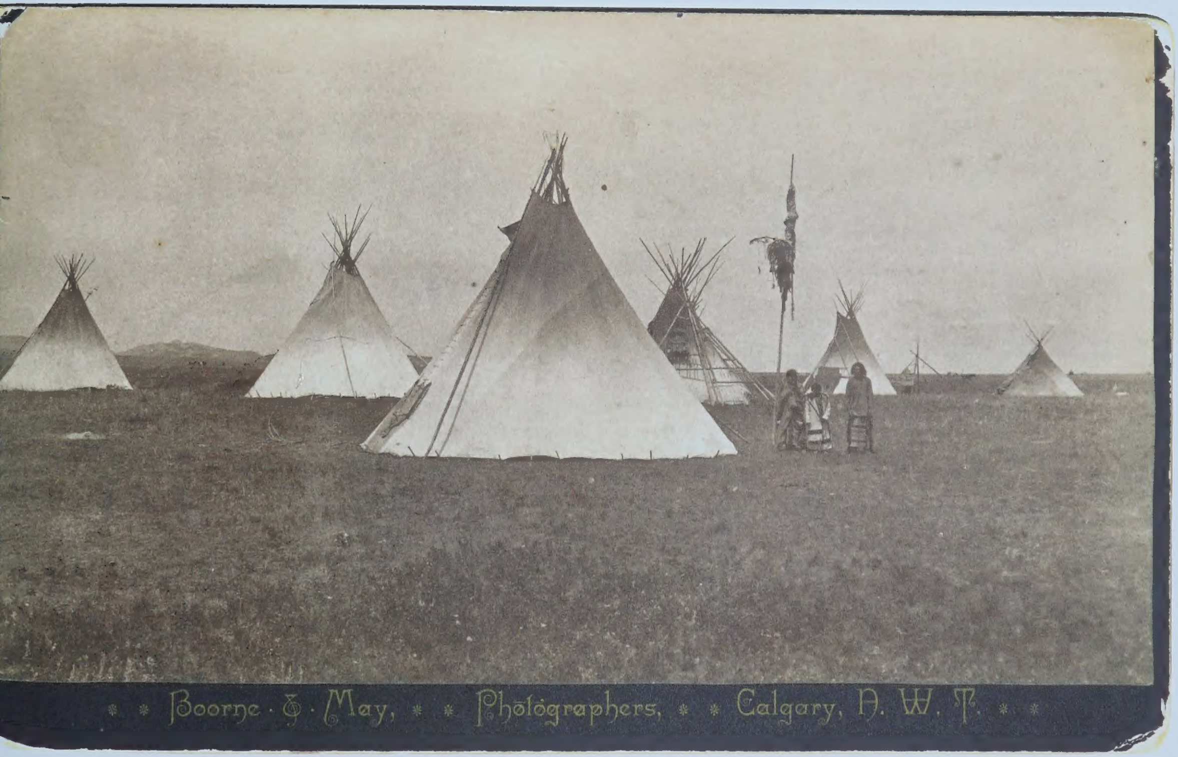
opposite page

Kainai camp.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 11.3 x 19.7 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP075

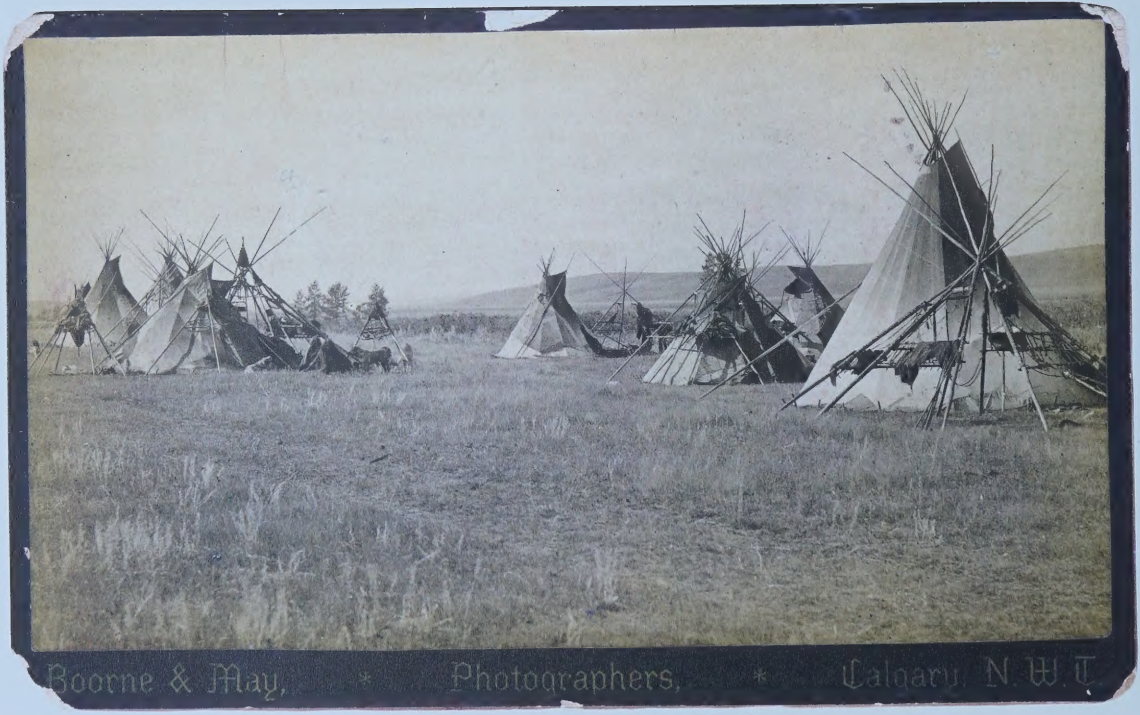
This is a Kainai camp (IP075) of the late 1880s to the early 1890s. It is a scene with six tipis, and drying racks/tripods are visible. There appears to be a ceremonial pole behind the three children.

The three photographs (IP218, IP220, and IP227) on pages 132 and 133 of tipi encampments around Calgary illustrate the importance of tripods. These photographs are placed together because they are all from the Calgary studio of Boorne & May, and they date from the late 1880s to the early 1890s. They were in an album of Boorne & May photographs. Of these photographs, Mike Meguinis noted the poles for travois; he said, "that's how they used to travel."[135] He liked what he saw in these images, "long time ago, they [tipis] used to look like that."[136]

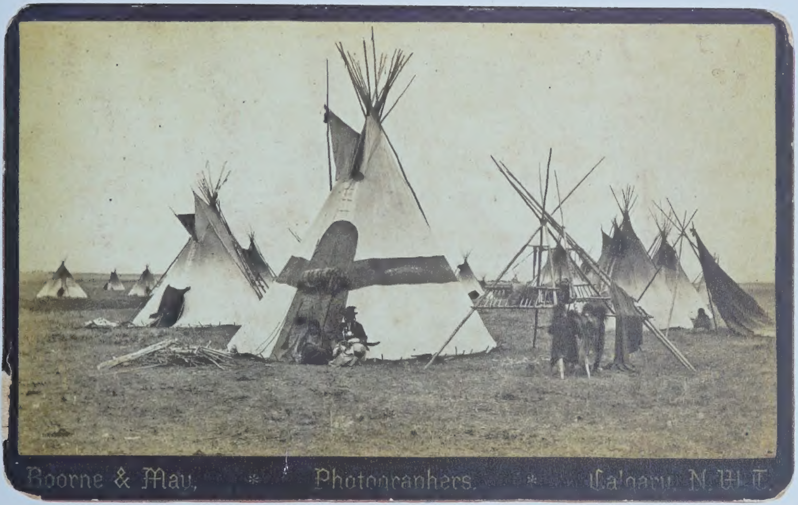
Two of these photographs (IP218 and 220, page 133) may feature prominent men. In IP218, the man outside the central tipi is a chief as he has a treaty medal and what appears to be a treaty coat. There is a design on the central strip of this tipi. In IP220, the man outside the central tipi was likely also a prominent leader, as he wears richly beaded regalia and holds a sacred eagle feather.


Boorne & May, Photographers, Calgary, N. W. T.

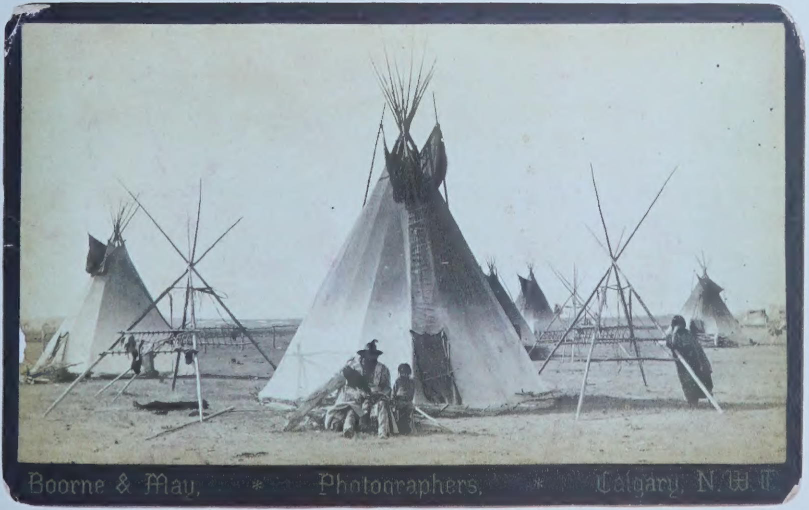
IP075


Boorne & May, * Photographers, * Calgary, N.W.T.

IP227


Boorne & May, * Photographers, * Calgary, N.W.T.

IP218


Boorne & May, * Photographers, * Calgary, N.W.T.

IP220

opposite page

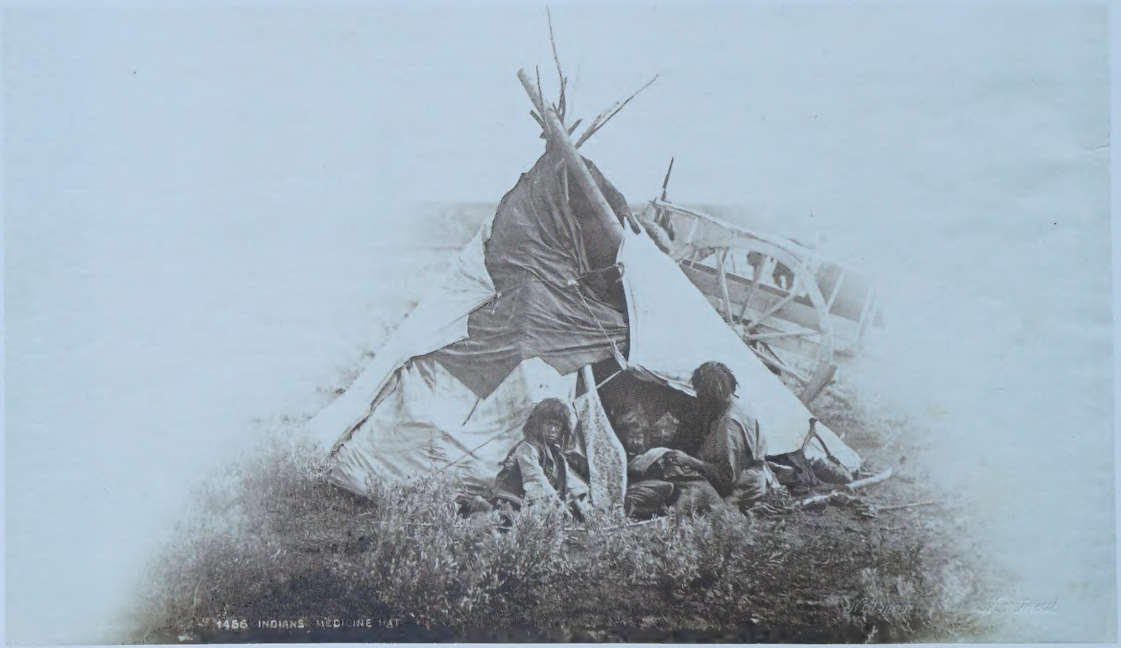
Encampment with numerous tipis.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 11.0 x 19.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP227

left, above

Indigenous couple in front of a tipi encampment.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 11.0 x 19.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP218

left, below

Indigenous family in front of a tipi encampment.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 11.0 x 19.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP220



IP093

above

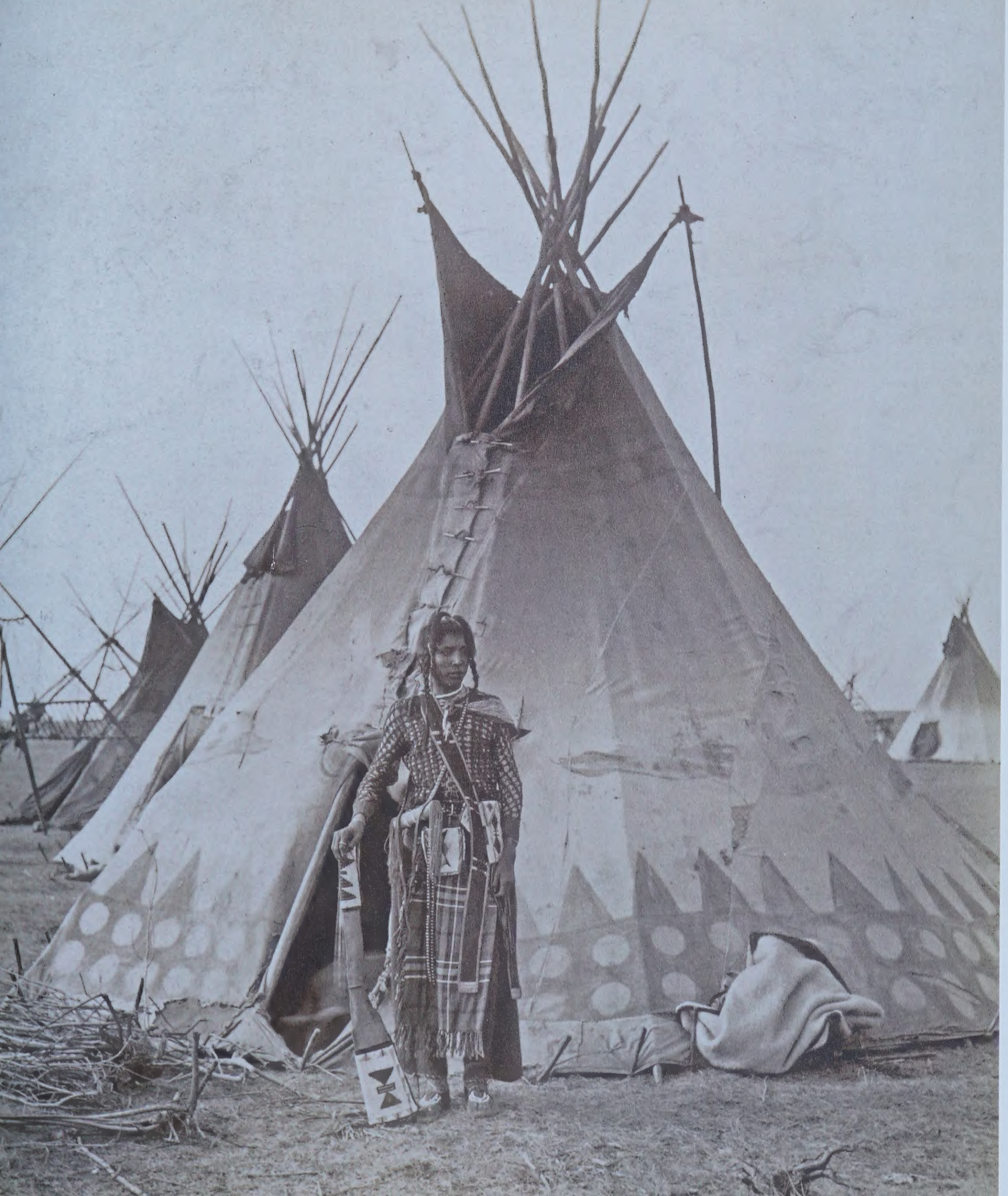
Niitsitapiisini family, Medicine Hat, Northwest Territories, 1884.
William McFarlane Notman. Albumen.
17.2 x 23.6 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP093

opposite page

Young Niitsitapiisini man in front of tipi.
William Notman & Son. Albumen. 19.1 x 23.2 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP289

The photograph (IP093) above is of a tipi encampment near Medicine Hat. It illustrates what a camp was like in transition; the unusual size of the poles and the way the tipi is constructed of cloth, indicate that it was not as permanent as most tipis; it was set up on the go. “The tipis were small in the old days because they moved so much,”[137] Allan Wolfleg commented.

The photograph (IP289) on the facing page shows a young Niitsitapiisini man in full regalia standing before a tipi with a design sometimes interpreted as depicting mountain peaks and the discs, the “dusty stars,” or puffballs, of the prairie.[138]



IP289

opposite page

Tsuut'ina family moving camp near Calgary, Northwest Territories.
Trueman & Capel. Gelatin silver print.
11.6 x 20.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP044

following double-page spread, right

Niitsitapiisini woman and child with travois. The photograph is captioned "Souvenir of the North-West."
Boorne & May. Albumen. 9.5 x 14.6 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP076

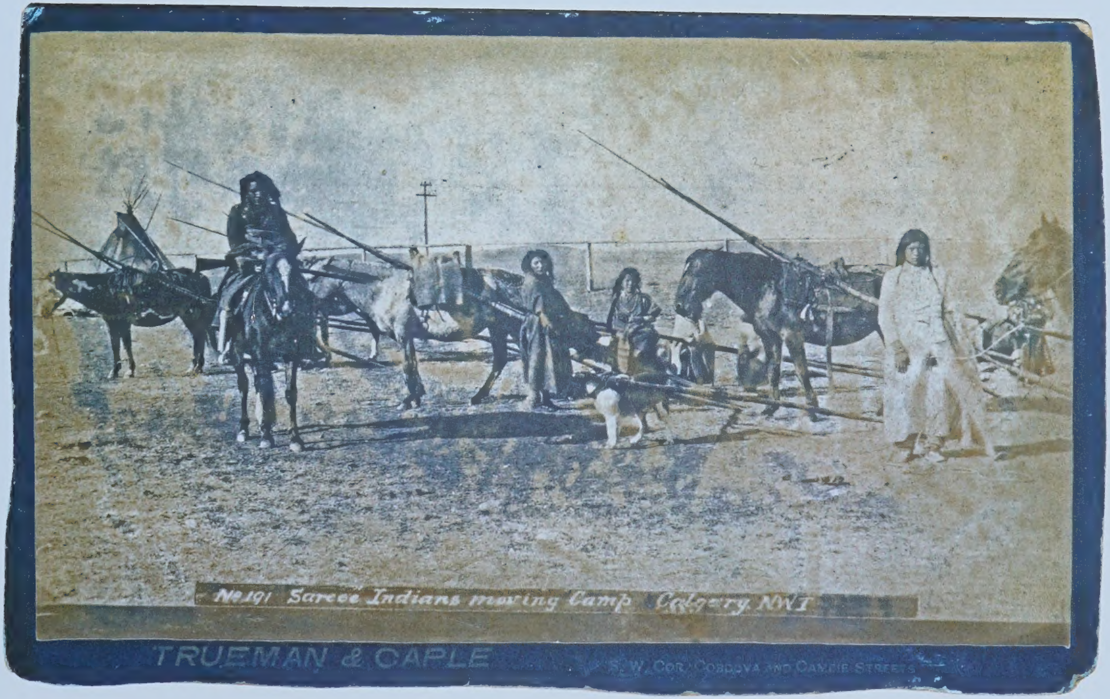
following double-page spread, left

Kenepequoshes and Kuskita with infant, Nehiyawak, holding horse pulling travois, Calgary, 1887.
William Notman & Son. Albumen. 23.7 x 19.1 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP292

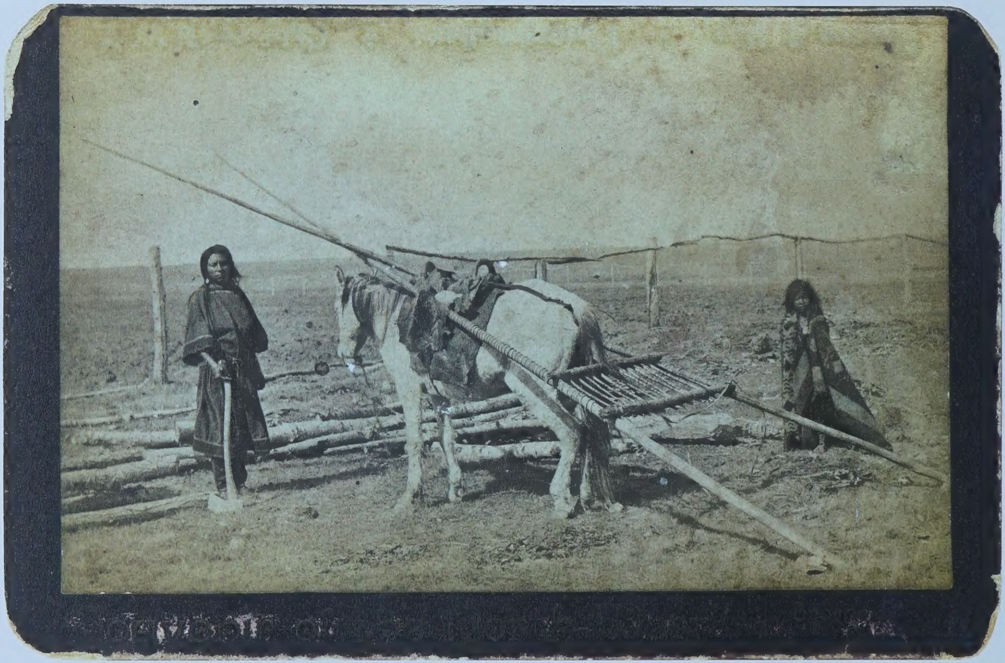
Travel and Travois

Mobility was central to the survival, prosperity, and rich culture of Plains Indigenous peoples. Over centuries, they developed a lifestyle that was well suited to the predominantly flat, treeless landscape and to the climate of extremes and uncertainties. Their habits of movement and dispersal suited the limited and specialized nature of the resources of the Plains. As homesteaders were later to learn, basic necessities such as good soil, water, game, and fuel rarely came together on the Plains. The buffalo was the foundation of the economy of Plains Indigenous Peoples, providing not only a crucial source of protein and vitamins but many other necessities, including shelter, clothing, containers, and tools. Life on the Plains followed a pattern of concentration and dispersal that, to a great extent, paralleled that of the buffalo.

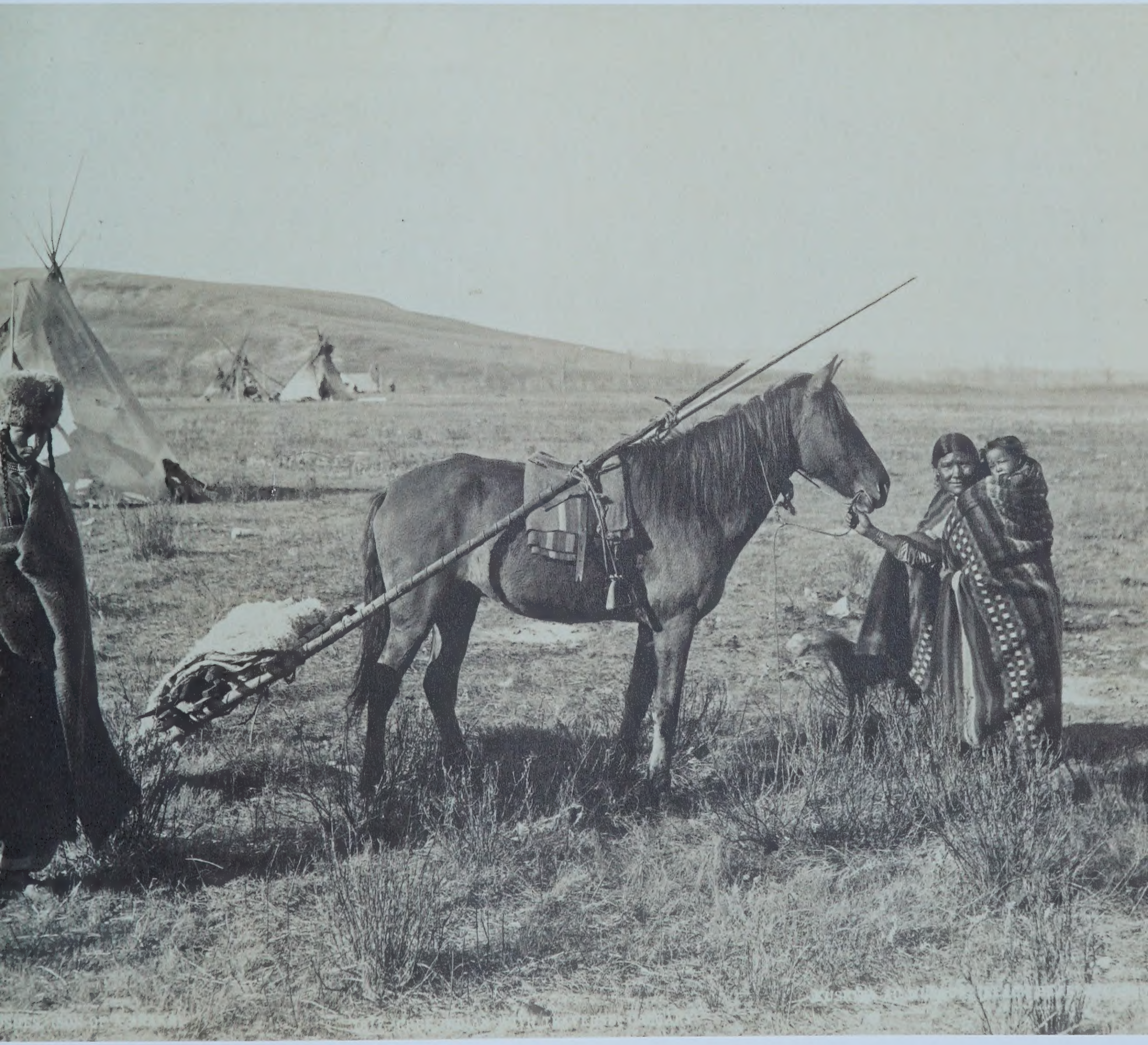
The travois (IP044, IP292, and IP076) was an ingenious device for transporting provisions, camp equipment, young children, the aged, and the ill. Two poles were fastened to the sides of a horse with the small ends tied together above the horse's head, while the large ends were dragged behind on the ground. A cross frame of rawhide strips (clearly shown in IP076, page 138) created the carrier that bore the load. The draught work was also performed by dogs, which often appear in travois and horse photographs. Of IP044 (facing page) Mike Meguinis said, "they are looking around for a place; Tsuut'ina people had strong features."[139] Of the photograph (IP076, page 38) of a child wrapped in a blanket, Allan Wolfleg commented that back then, when visitors came, they would cover up children with either a blanket or a shawl.[140]


No 191 Sarcee Indians moving Camp Calgary NWT
TRUEMAN & CAPLE
S. W. COR. CORDOVA AND CAMBIE STREETS

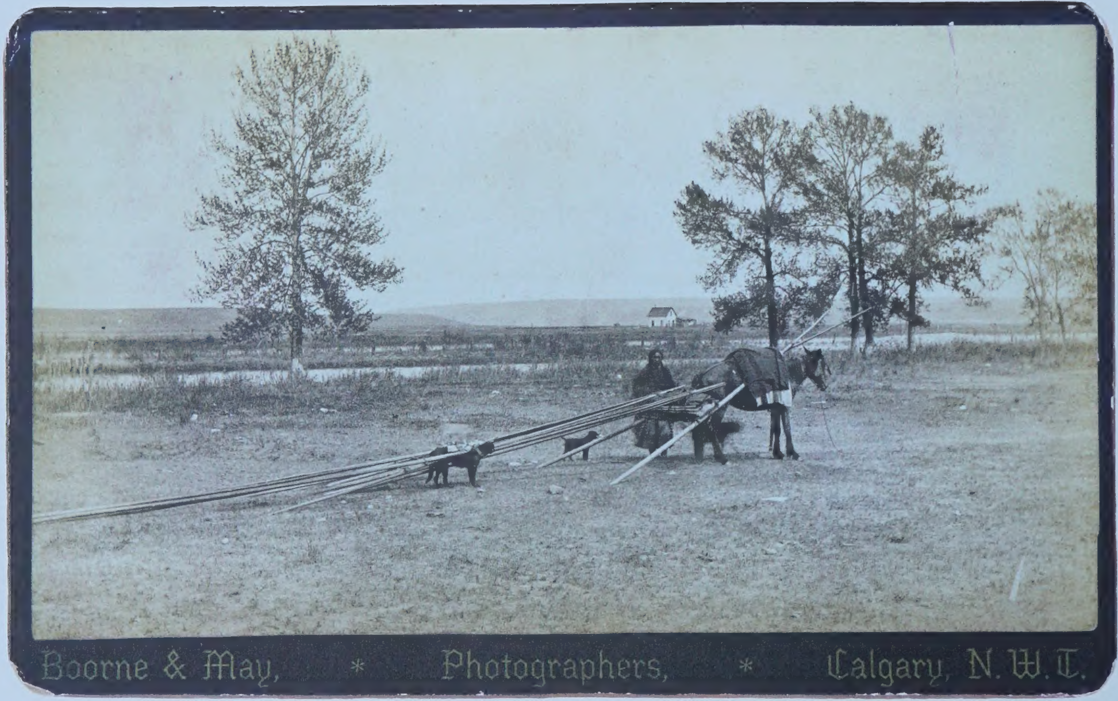
IP044



IP076



IP292


Boorne & May, * Photographers, * Calgary, N.W.T.

IP221

above

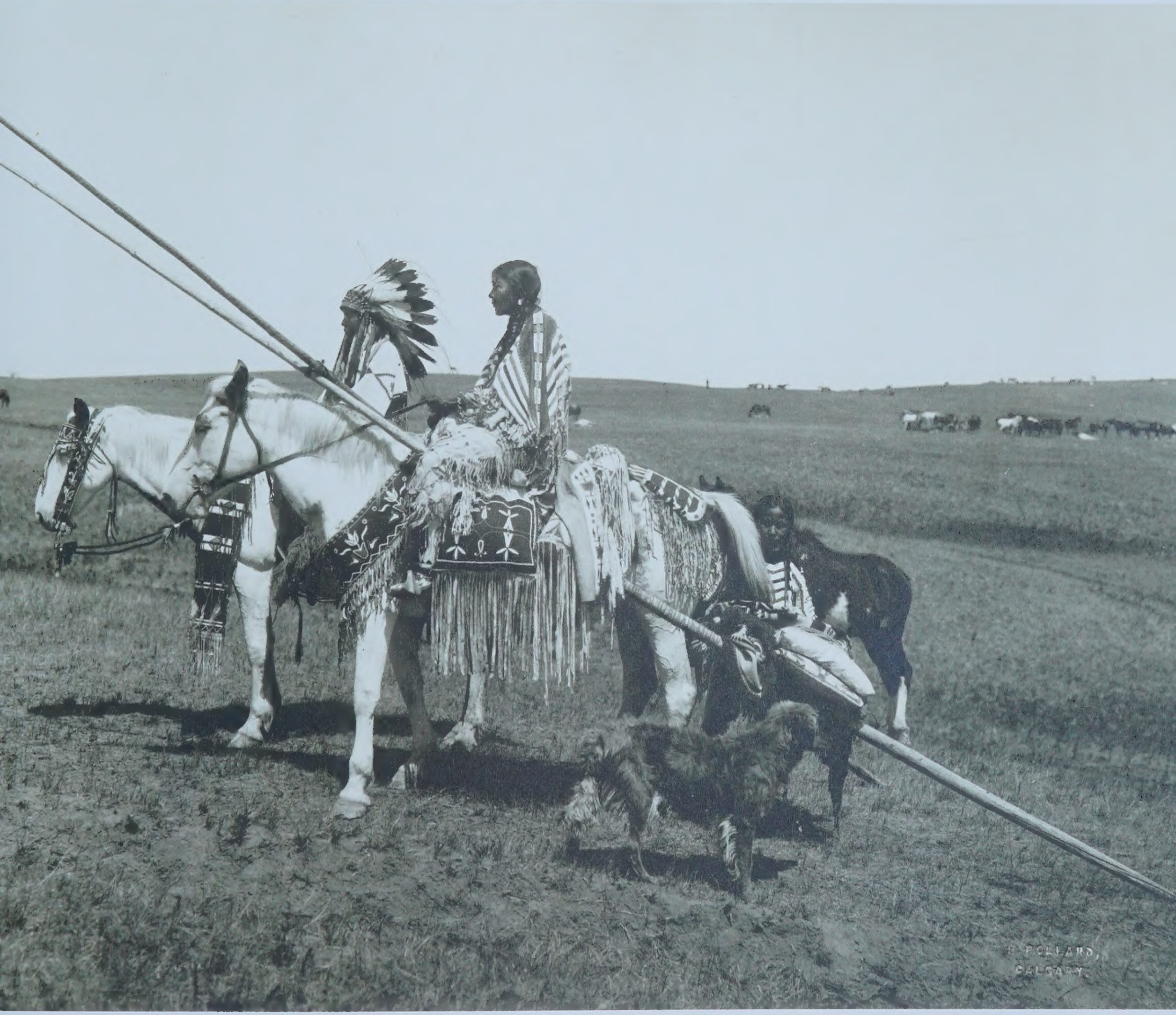
Indigenous woman working with a horse-pulled travois and a dog-pulled travois.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 11.0 x 19.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP221

opposite page

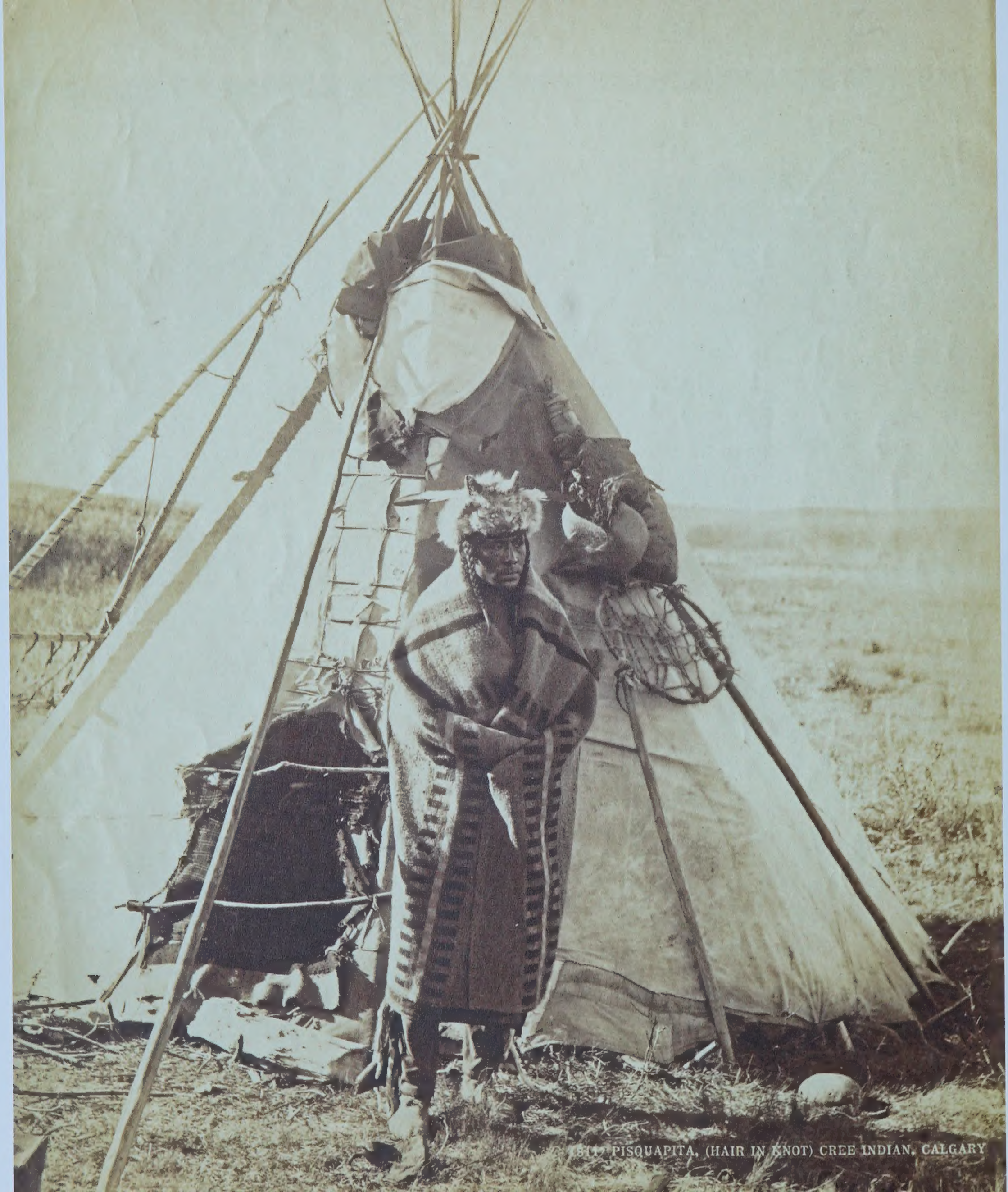
Mrs Duck Chief and Mrs Wolfleg with a friend, Niitsitapiisini.
Harry Pollard. Gelatin silver print. 19.3 x 24.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP008

On the facing page these are Niitsitapiisini women (IP008): Mrs Wolfleg (in headdress), Mrs Duck Chief (with travois), and a friend. As discussed in our introduction, this photograph is rich in meaning and symbols. It is carefully composed. The sideways pose shows the horse and travois to dramatic effect. There are gorgeous horse trappings. There is a cylindrical parfleche with long fringes, tied behind Mrs Duck Chief, that might have been used to hold a headdress. Mrs Duck Chief was a powerful woman, a keeper of a thunder bundle, a sacred ceremonial item.[141]

Dogs carried, also by travois (IP221), firewood, camp equipment, and meat from a hunt. Dogs and travois were owned by women and were valued property.


H. POLLARD,
CALGARY.

IP008



811 PISQUAPITA, (HAIR IN KNOT) CREE INDIAN, CALGARY

IP091

Nehiyawak

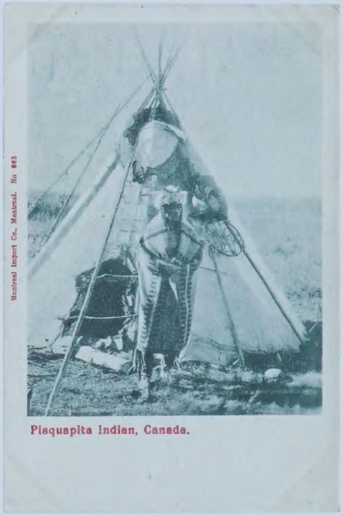
The collection is rich in photographs of Nehiyawak. The photographs included here were chosen as examples because Elders commented on particularly striking features or because the photographs conveyed information.

The man in this photograph and this postcard (IP091 and PEEL POSTCARD 9739) is identified as Pisquapita, or Hair in Knot, Nehiyawak, in Calgary. He wears a remarkable fox or lynx headdress. His name quite possibly comes from the knot of hair worn at the top of the head.[142] Of the dreamcatcher that is leaning against the tipi, Josephine Buffalo stated "that it could be a story related to the spider, the story of the dreamcatcher; it is a story about the web."[143] Buffalo saw many interesting features and aspects in this image, remarking that it is good to have photographs such as these displayed, because "now my children will not have experienced any of this; they will now know the difference."[144]

That the photograph (IP199) on the left of page 144 is a photograph of Nehiyawak people of Manitoba is the only information available. It is clearly not posed. As Rick Lightning observed, it is a natural photograph, showing people in everyday wear. One man wears traditional moccasins and both men are wrapped in Hudson's Bay blankets. A twisted staff appears in one man's hands.

The man in the photograph on the right of page 144 (IP092) has been identified as Kopiassiswean, mistakenly translated as "Bird Skin." Josephine Buffalo determined that kopiassiswean does not mean "bird skin" nor does it mean "bird feather." "Wean" means "refers to" or "named after" which may translate to, "he is named after a bird. But it does not specify what kind of bird."[145]

The photograph (IP074) on page 145 is of a Nehiyawak man identified as Ikinnaii, near Calgary. He has a bow and quiver and appears to be demonstrating his archery skills for the photographer.

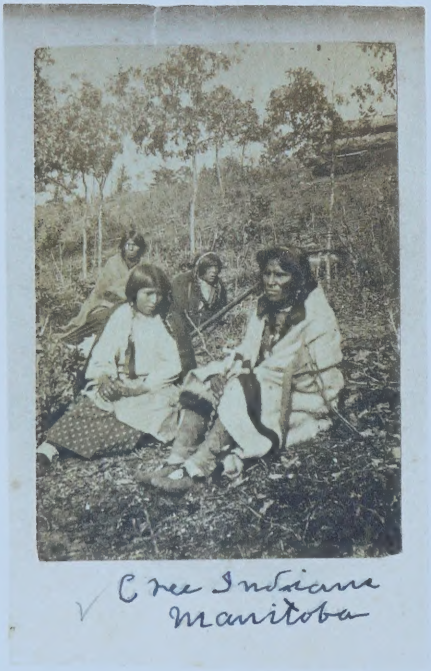

Montreal Import Co., Montreal. No
Pisquapita Indian, Canada.

opposite page

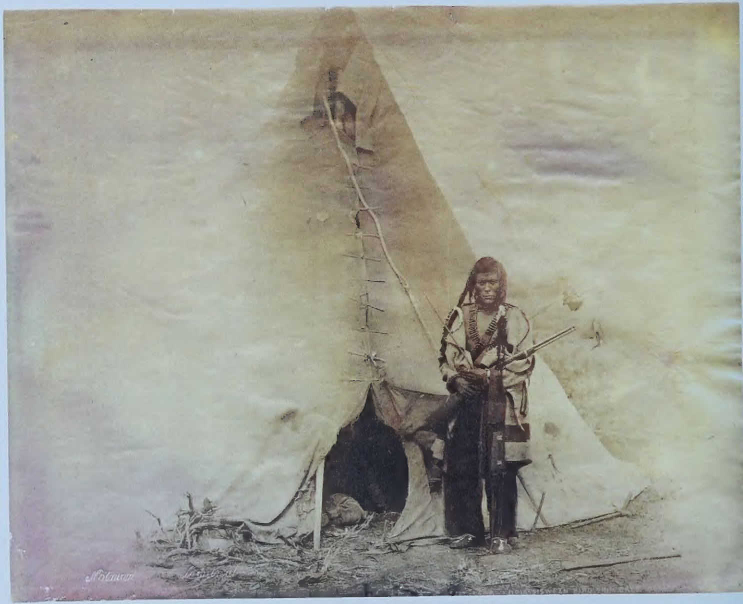
Pisquapita (Hair in Knot), Nehiyawak, Calgary.
Wm Notman & Son. Albumen. 23.6 x 18.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP091

above

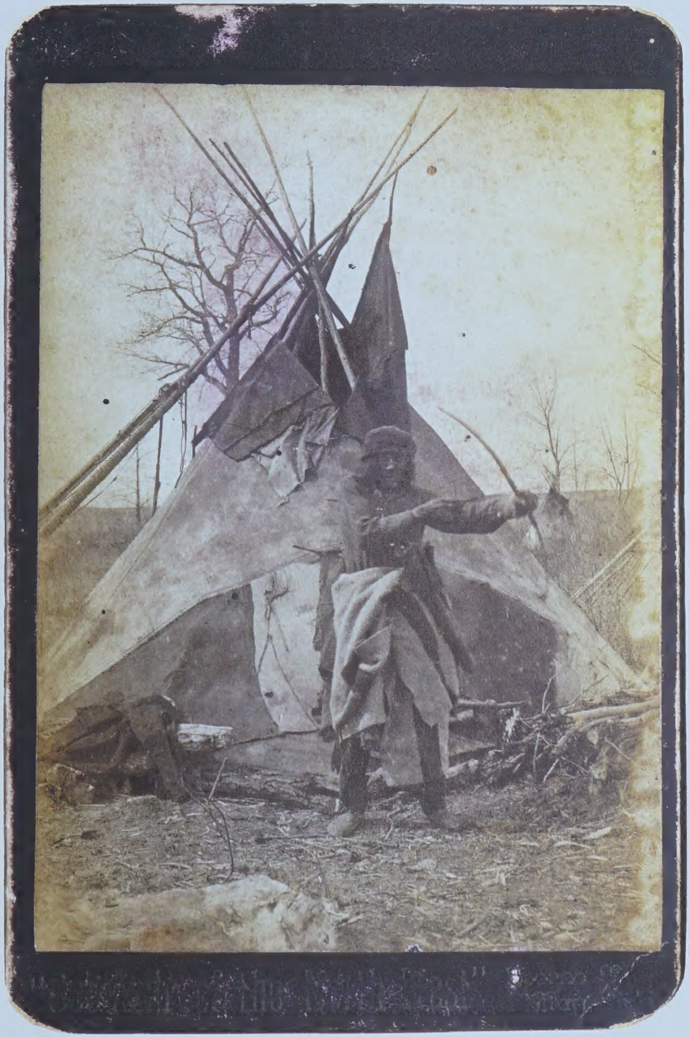
Published by Montreal Import Co., this postcard pictures Pisquapita (Hair in Knot).
Wm Notman & Son. Postcard. 13.9 x 9.2 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC009739


Cree Indians
Manitoba

IP199



IP092



IP074

opposite page, left

Nehiyawak family, Manitoba, c.1860. The item may be an early *carte de visite* affixed to a thin cardboard mount.
Albumen. 8.3 x 5.9 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP199

opposite page, right

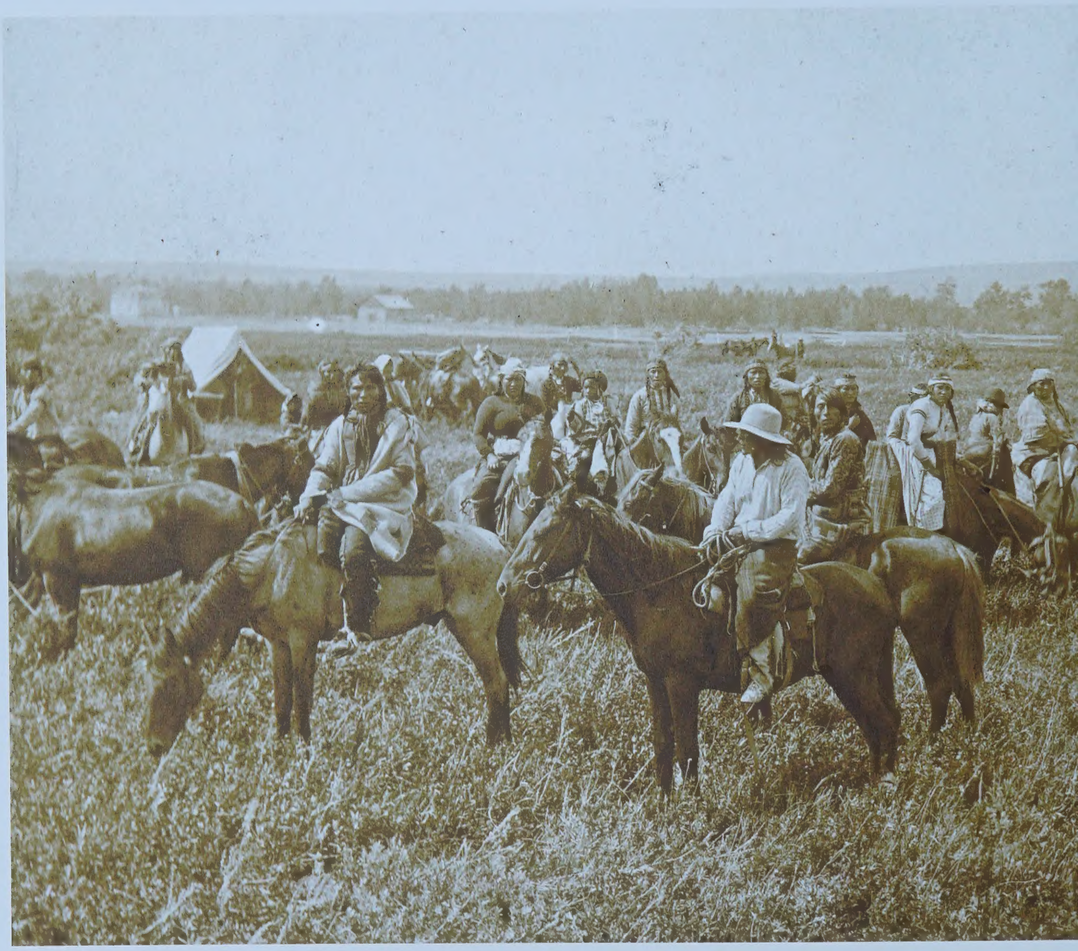
Kopiassiswean, Nehiyawak, Calgary, Northwest Territories, 1884. William McFarlane Notman. Albumen. 18.2 x 22.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP092

left

Ikinnaii, Nehiyawak, c.1887.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 13.8 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP074

following double-page spread

Stoney Nakoda men and women, Pincher Creek, 1895, in what is now southern Alberta.
Steele & Co. Gelatin silver print. 18.2 x 23.6 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP049



IP049

Stoney Nakoda

The collection is particularly rich in Stoney Nakoda photographs because many photographers promoted the CPR and tourism in Banff, and the Stoney Nakoda reserve is on the main line of the CPR. Banff was part of their homeland: they attended Banff "Indian Days" and were photographed as tourist attractions. "Indian Days" were held at Banff each year from the 1890s to the 1970s and were a great tourist draw. There were five days of spectacle with hundreds of Indigenous performers, mainly Stoney Nakoda.[146] There was an "Indian village," where people were expected to wear their traditional regalia. Other activities included parades, sports competitions, drumming, singing, and dancing. This was the only time of the year that First Nations peoples were permitted to enter the National Park. Indigenous participants were initially pleased to participate, to make some income, to travel and visit, and to showcase their culture—but by the early 1970s, Stoney Nakoda criticisms of the event mounted, and there were claims that "Indian Days" were exploitative, mainly because of poor wages.

Tom Snow stated, "Banff Indian Days kind of saved us; there was a ban on traditions, spiritual practices; we were able to preserve this stuff as we were doing a service to Brewster [tourism company in Banff]; it kept our traditions alive." He continued, "Banff Indian Days showcased our traditions through rodeo, parade, wearing of regalia, and horsemanship. We did not perform any actual ceremonies."[147]

One of the most remarkable photographs (IP049, small inset on page 146, in two frames on pages 146 and 147) in the collection is from 1895; it is of a large group of women, men, and children on the move on horseback near Pincher Creek, Alberta. What they are doing and where they are going is unknown, but the spontaneity and movement captured here is rare. Tom Snow said of this image, "they must have gotten permission to leave the reserve. They are wearing everyday wear. They may be being introduced to agriculture, it could have been a ranching opportunity. Sometimes they [Indian agents] would bring us to meet the Blackfoot [Niitsitapiisini], as a means to keep peace after the treaties were signed."[148] He further remarked that it was a fabulous photograph and could be considered an image of commerce, as the people in it were working as cowhands. There are many women on horseback in the second row, and it is not a staged image, he further noted. Rick Lightning observed that they could be riders in a Sundance, as well.[149]

On page 150 are two young Stoney Nakoda men in a photograph (IP215) taken between 1885 and 1900. They are dressed in traditional regalia and, through their smiles, appear willing to have their photograph taken. The one standing wears a shirt with many ermine skins hanging from the sleeves, and, as Tom Snow noted, the skins were a sign of prestige.[150]

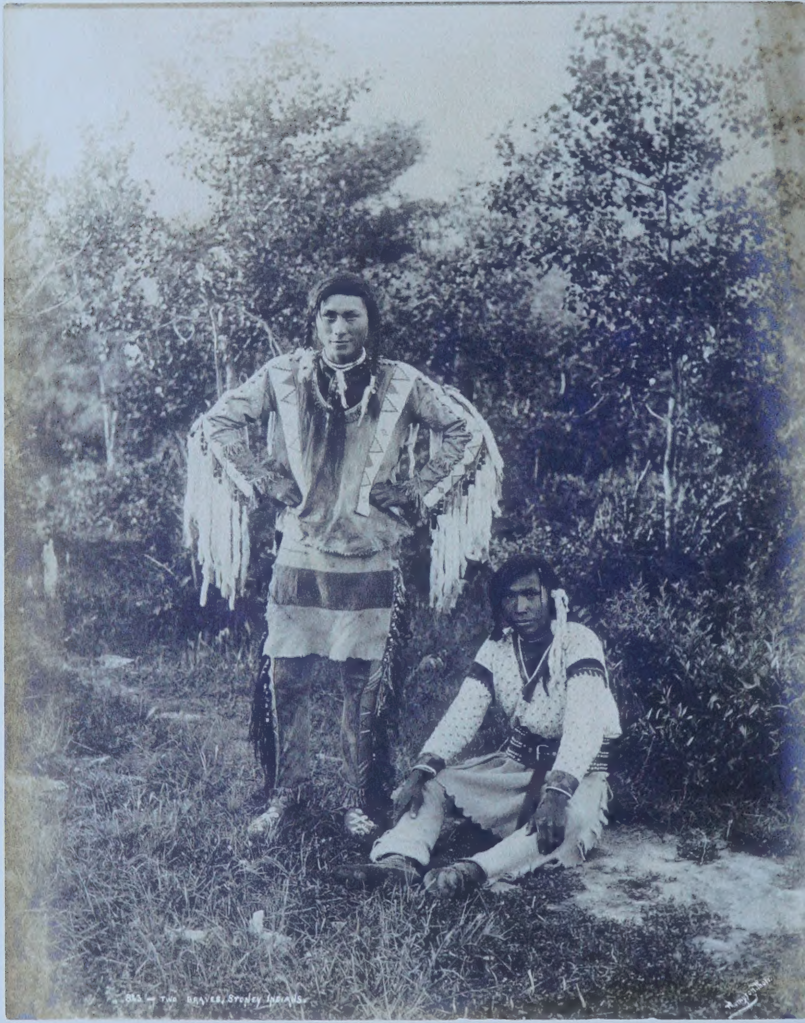
On page 151, the photograph shows (IP143) a Stoney Nakoda family. Tom Snow recognized Eagle Hill in the background, a notable feature of the Stoney Nakoda First Nation community at Morley, Alberta. Jacob Lightning remarked that this photograph made him appreciate that his people were of such a hardy nature to manage to survive on these lands where there were few trees.[151] It is a natural photograph of a couple and their two children.

right

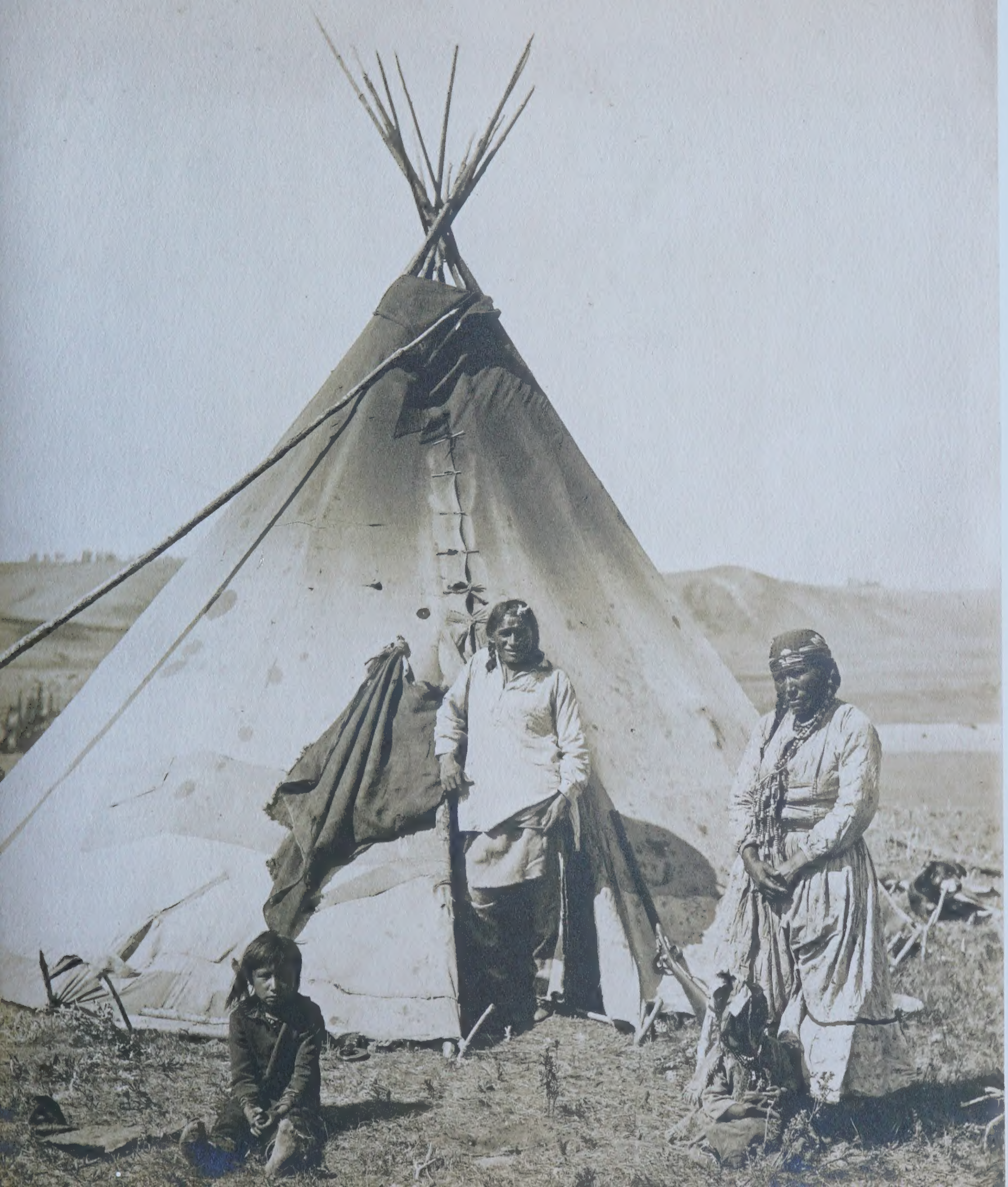
Two young Stoney Nakoda men.
Thompson. Gelatin silver print. 23.1 x 18.0 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP215

opposite page

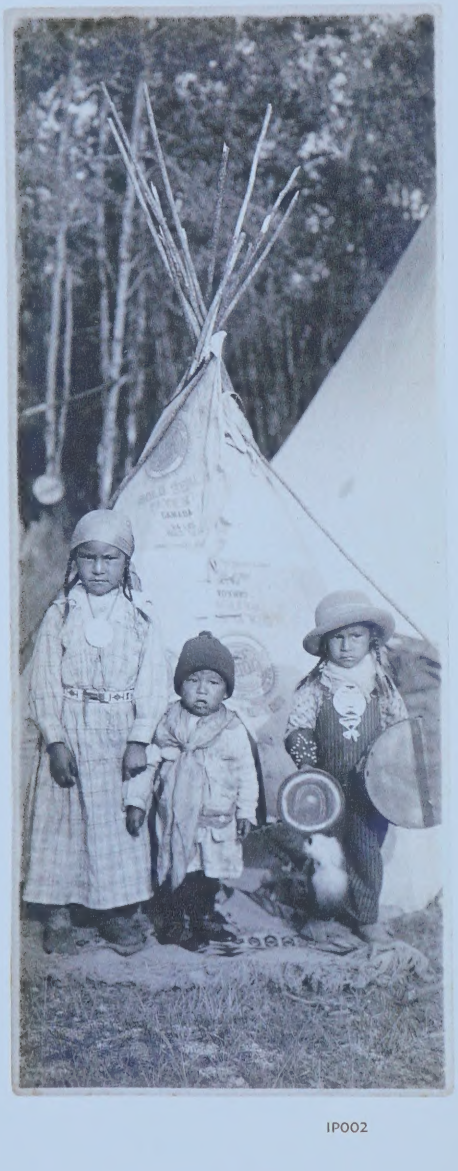
Stoney Nakoda family.
Thompson. Platinum. 24.2 x 19.1 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP143


853 — TWO BRAVES, STONEY INDIANS.

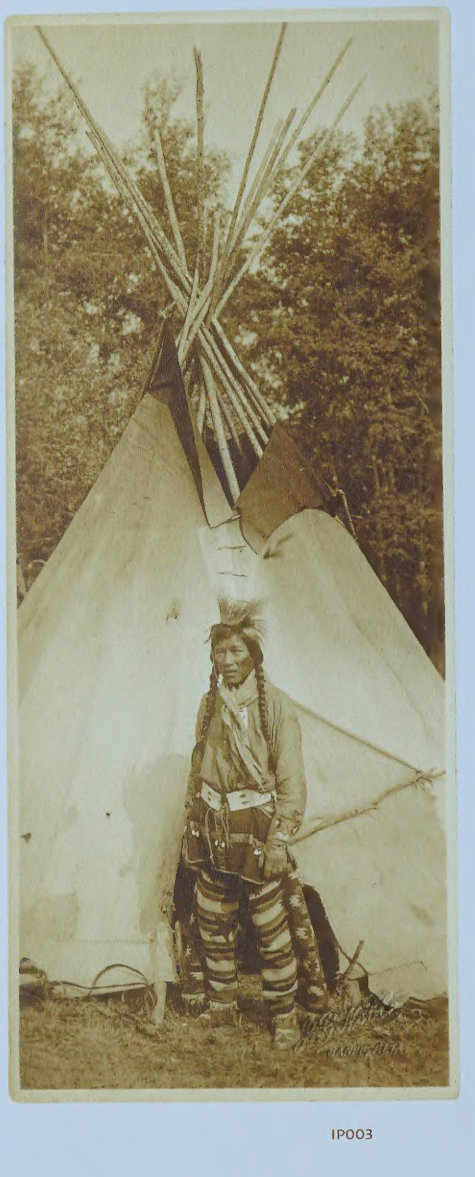
IP215



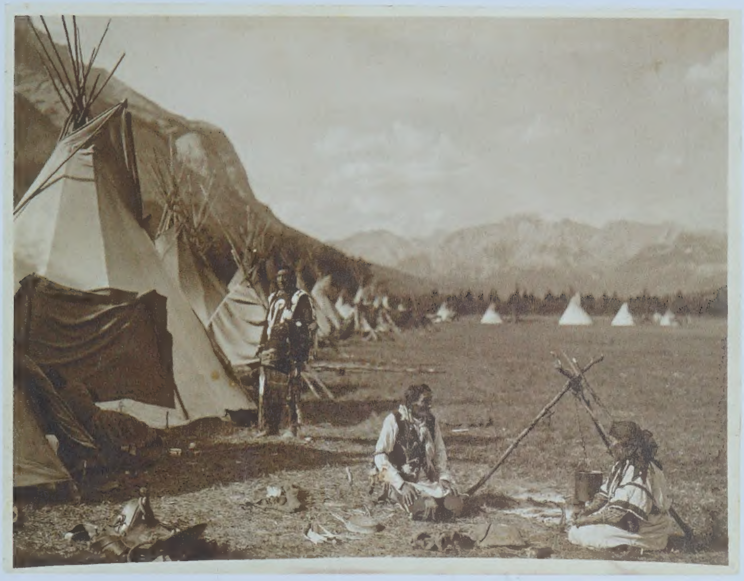
IP143



IP002



IP003



IP005

On the facing page at the left, the Stoney Nakoda children (IP002) are at the Banff "Indian Days" camp. The large scarf and big necklace were worn only for photographic purposes. Behind the children is a "play" tipi made from Gold Seal Flour sacks. Several of the elders noted the child's tipi. Tom Snow observed that the little boy was wearing leather cuffs, and that the little girl's belt and the rug both have Nakoda designs.[152]

In the photograph (IP003) on the facing page at the right, a young man stands outside a tipi. According to Tom Snow, the way in which the tipi flaps lie in IP002 and IP003 indicate that this was not a permanent camp but rather one for "show."[153]

Above is a poignant image (IP005) of a Stoney Nakoda encampment in Banff in 1928. These Banff "Indian Days" grounds were captured in many photographs in this collection, as well as in tourist posters and other promotional material. As Rick Lightning commented, even into the 1980s, this is how camps would have been set up.[154] Tom Snow recognized the turtles on the beadwork as Stoney Nakoda designs and symbols. As people were identified, it allowed for further conversation about this photograph; George Hunter (standing) was the father of Chief Enos Hunter of the Good Stoney Band. There was a heavy missionary influence upon the Stoney people back then. Snow recalled that when he was young, Stoneys spoke Nehiyawak and Stoney.[155]

opposite page, left

Stoney Nakoda children in Banff.
George Noble. Gelatin silver print. 23.0 x 9.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP002

opposite page, right

Stoney Nakoda man beside a tipi in Banff.
George Noble. Gelatin silver print. 23.0 x 9.5 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP003

above

Simeon Simeon, George Hunter, and Mrs George Hunter (L-R), at a Stoney Nakoda camp in Banff. The photograph is dated July 1928 in a hand-written note on verso.
Gelatin silver print. 18.0 x 23.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP005

opposite page

Studio portrait of two Tsuut'ina women, hand-coloured.
Ross. Albumen. 22.7 x 19.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP061

Tsuut'ina

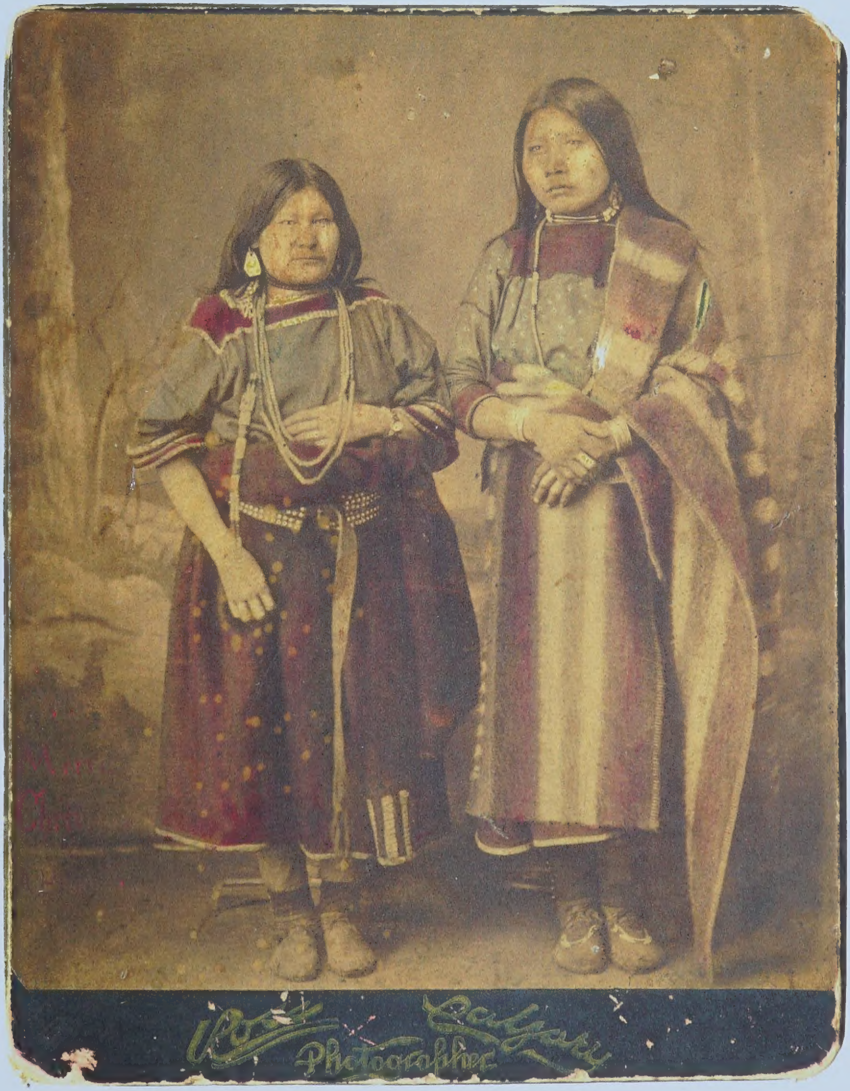
With their reserve bordering Calgary and near the main line of the CPR, the Tsuut'ina were among the most frequently photographed of the Plains Indigenous peoples.

These are Tsuut'ina women in a photograph (IP061) taken in Calgary in the late 1880s or early 1890s. Beatrice Morin said, "They must be sisters. This is so honourable. They are life givers."[156] As with many photographs of Indigenous persons, particularly Indigenous women, the women are not identified. This is a valuable record of Tsuut'ina women's dresses and accessories, which were much more than simple articles of clothing: they were complex expressions of identity and culture, rich in symbols and stories.

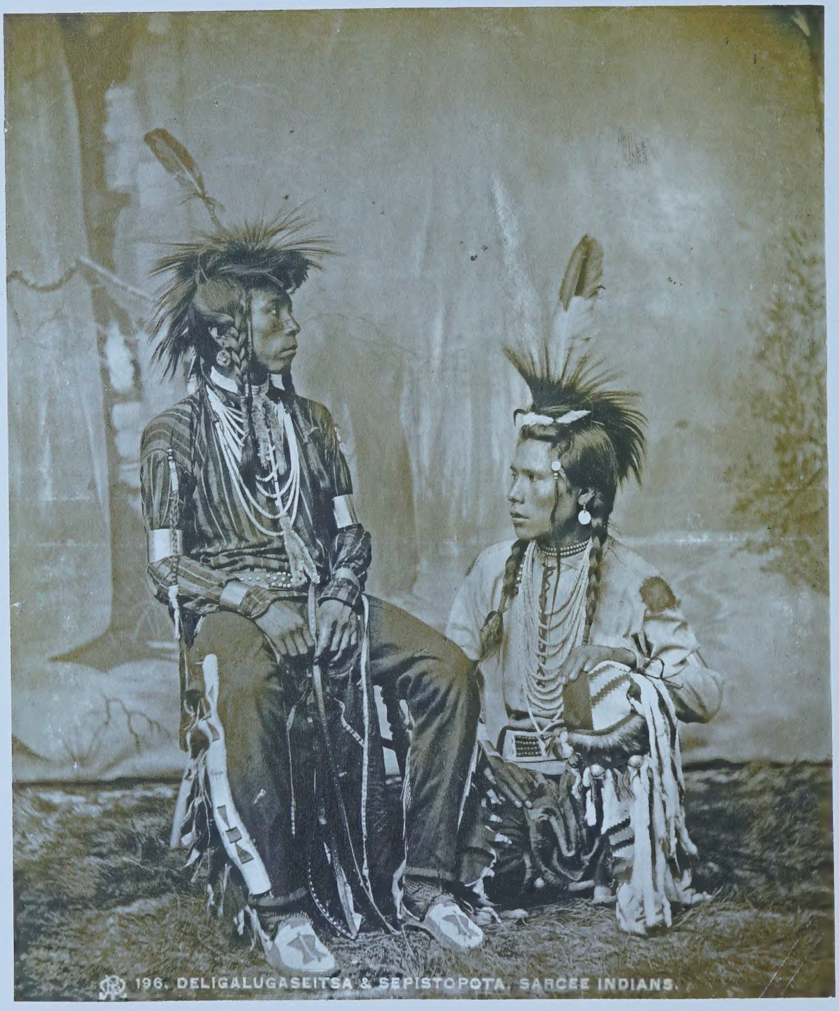
The young men (IP087) on page 156 are identified as Deligalugaseitsa and Sepistopota. They are wearing traditional dance attire, and their hair is braided. Mike Meguinis stated that the one man was "old Crowchild/Eagletail and that the other one kneeling, was Manywounds. It's when they were young."[157]

The man (IP077) on page 157 is identified as "White Knife" in the original caption of this Calgary photograph. Of this image, Mike Meguinis said, "that's the way they used to dress when they danced; the feathers were worn at the waist; it's still the same now with these prairie chicken dancers."[158]

On page 158 and 159 IP072, IP073, and IP179 are all the same photograph. IP072 has no label. IP073 has "Sarcee" written on the front. IP179 has written, in French, that this young man is Assiniboine, from Qu'Appelle. It is not clear which of the two labels is correct. Tom Snow thought there were various indications of Nakoda Oyadebi (Assiniboine) dress and adornment.[159]

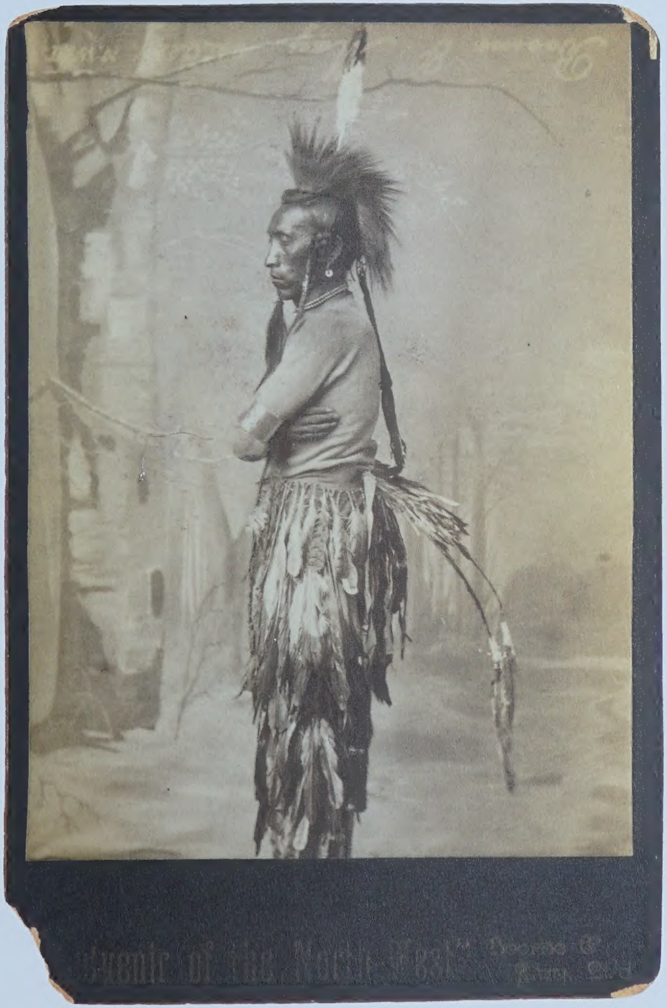

Ross Calgary
Photographer

IP061



196. DELIGALUGASEITSA & SEPISTOPOTA, SARCEE INDIANS.

IP087



IP077

opposite page

Studio portrait of Deligalugaseitsa and Sepistopota, Tsuut'ina.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 21.6 x 18.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP087

left

Studio portrait of White Knife, Tsuut'ina. The photograph is captioned "Souvenir of the North-West."
Boorne & May. Albumen. 13.8 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP077

right

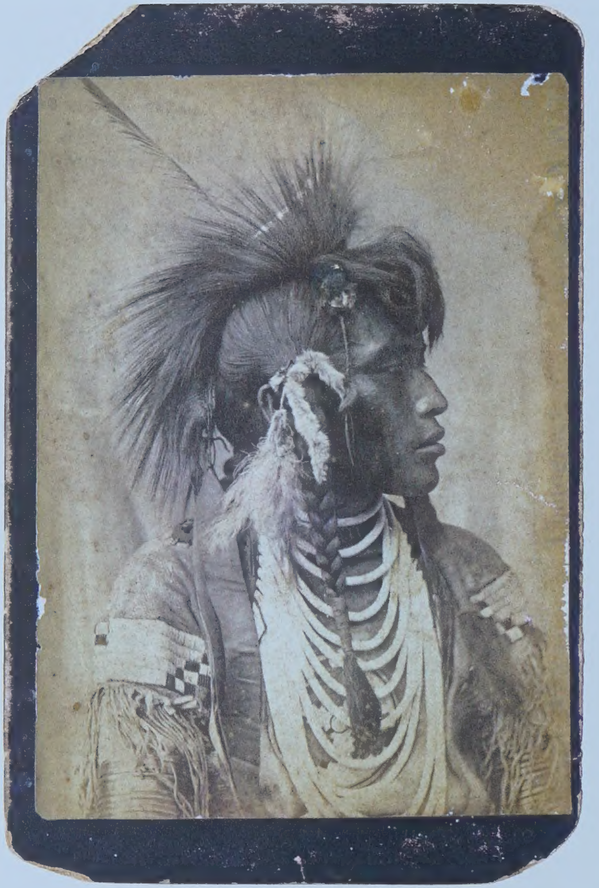
Otokuyicokoan (Yellow Lodge), Tsuut'ina (same as IP073).
Boorne & May. Albumen. 13.9 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP072

opposite page, left

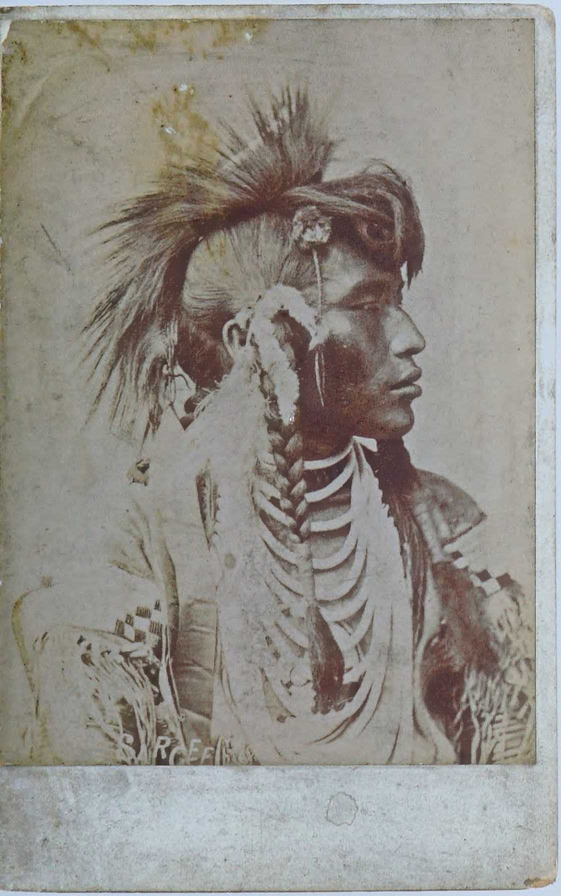
Otokuyicokoan (Yellow Lodge), Tsuut'ina (same as IP072).
Boorne & May. Albumen. 13.8 x 10.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP073

opposite page, right

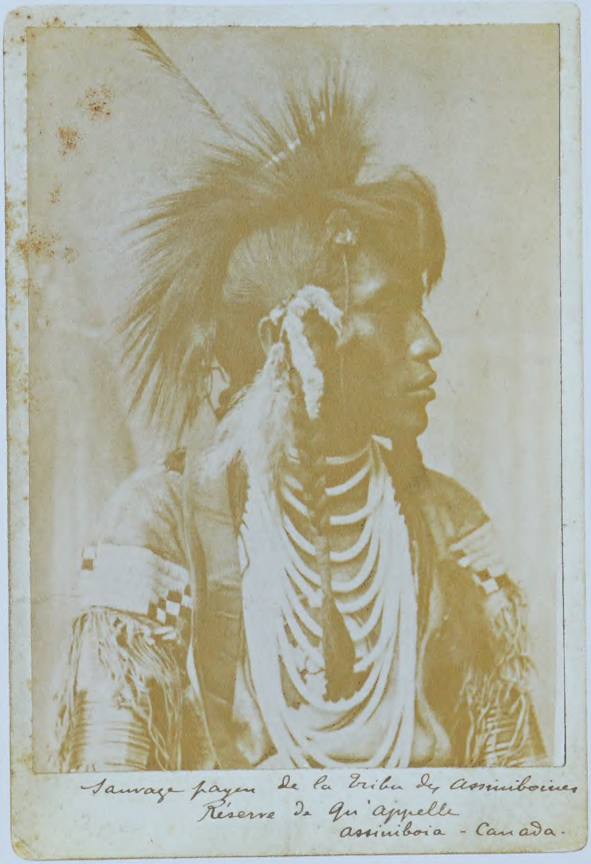
Nakoda Oyadebi man, Qu'Appelle.
Albumen. 14.0 x 10.1 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP179



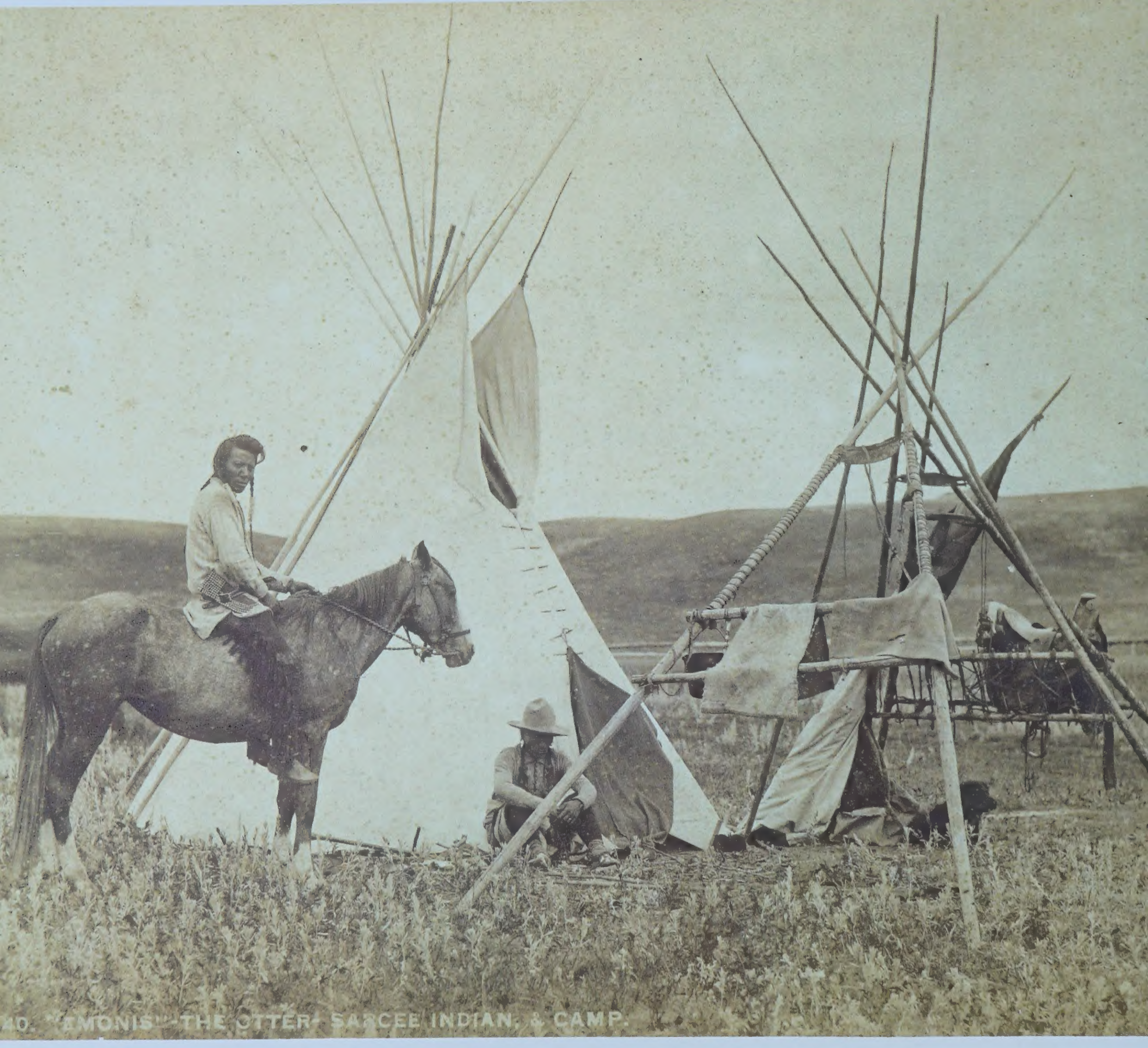
IP072

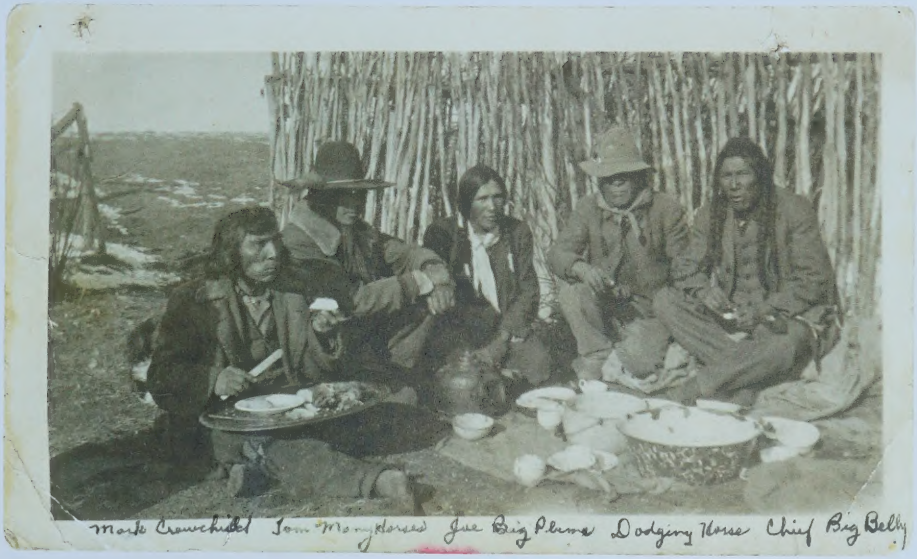

SARCEE

IP073


Sauvage payen de la Tribu des assiniboines
Réserve de Qu'appelle
assiniboia - Canada.

IP179


40. "AMONIS" - THE OTTER - SARCEE INDIAN, & CAMP.


Mark Crowchild Tom Many Horses Joe Big Plume Dodging Horse Chief Big Belly

IP011

Viewing the photograph (IP084, facing page) of the man identified as Emonis (The Otter) at a Tsuut'ina camp, Mike Meguinis commented that this was the way they used to dress and travel. "They had a big horse to carry the tent and a travois to pack things around which was pulled by the horse. They would ride without a saddle because they said a saddle was too cold for the legs; that's what they used to tell us. In the old days, they were proud."[160]

Above is a rare photograph (IP011) taken on the Tsuut'ina reserve, at the Indian agency, dated 1912. It is also rare to have all of the men in the photograph named. The men are Mark Crowchild, Tom Many Horses, Joe Big Plume, Dodging Horse, and Chief Big Belly. Mike Meguinis recognized his grandfather Mark Crowchild. This photograph made Meguinis smile; he said of it, "they are telling stories about life."[161] It also led Meguinis to recount Chief Big Belly's efforts to identify their traditional lands.

opposite page

Emonis (The Otter), Tsuut'ina camp.
Boorne & May. Albumen. 18.0 x 23.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP084

above

Mark Crowchild, Tom Many Horses, Joe Big Plume, Dodging Horse, and Chief Big Belly (L-R) at Tsuut'ina Nation Reserve. The photograph is dated 1912 on verso.
Gelatin silver print. 12.6 x 20.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP011

opposite page, above

Large group in full regalia gathered around a drum. The photograph is captioned by the studio as "Beardy's Warriors" (postcard PC002997 in Peel's Prairie Provinces database).
Steele & Co. Gelatin silver print. 18.0 x 23.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP048

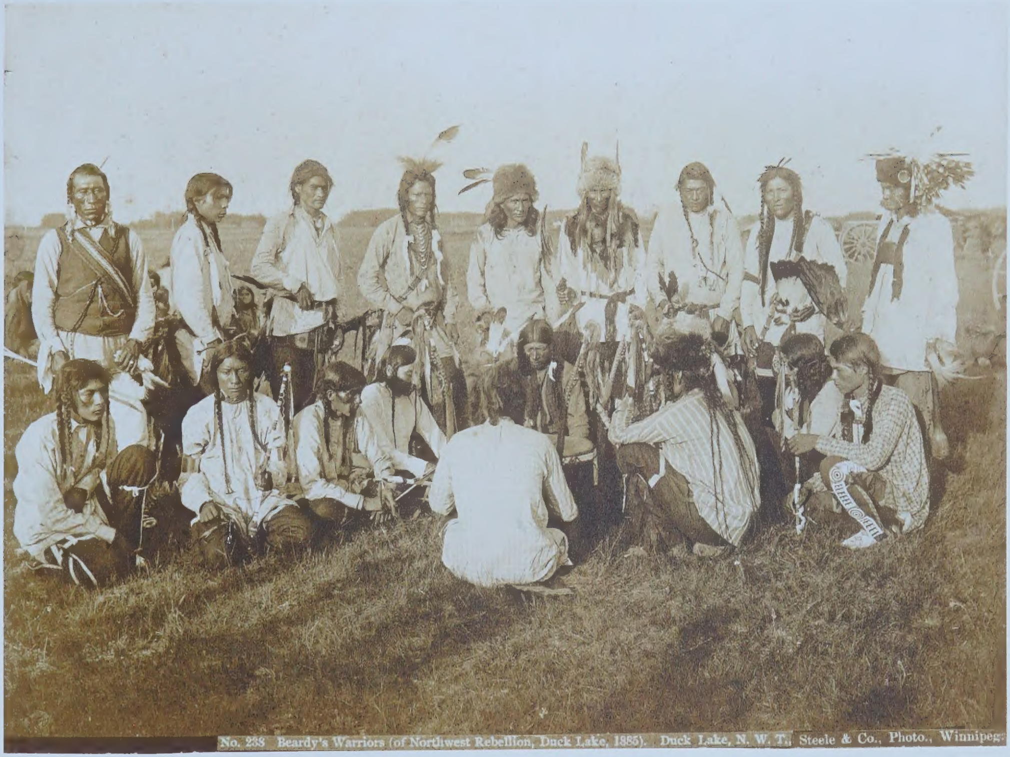
opposite page, below

Published by C.S. Co. of Winnipeg and printed in Saxony, this postcard was captioned "Beardy's Warriors" by the photography studio and the postcard publisher. Postcard. 8.3 x 13.7 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC002997

Grass Dance

The Grass Dance was a ceremony performed by Northern Plains peoples, sometimes for healing and sometimes to bless the ground where a feast or special event was to take place.[162] According to Antoine Lonesinger of the Sweet Grass First Nation, the Grass Dance was given to the Nehiyawak by the Sioux (likely the Dakota) from the bone (brome) grass spirits. The ritual was given to a Nehiyawak man in mourning for his wife, as he had become gravely ill in his grief. It was to be used for healing and not for entertainment. The leader drove four stakes into the ground, on which a drum was hung; then he called on four boys to sing, and the rest began to dance. The man was healed as he sat spellbound listening and watching.[163]

A stunning photograph (IP048) of a Grass Dance on the Beardy and Okemasis Cree First Nation near Duck Lake, Saskatchewan circa 1891 is remarkable for its detail, including of men's regalia and hair styles: some have four braids. There are eighteen men, four of whom are drummers, with women seated in the background. According to Marvin Littlechild there were four "legs" to the drum, and there was an individual keeper for each, and also a drum keeper.[164] Chief Beardy, who died in 1889, was the leader of the Willow Nehiyawak.[165] Although Beardy remained neutral during the events of 1885, a few of his followers joined the Métis. As a result, the entire band was declared "disloyal."[166] The caption "Beardy's Warriors (of Northwest Rebellion, Duck Lake, 1885)" would have been created by the photographer to enhance sales. The image from the photograph circulated widely, including in Europe. For example, it became a postcard (PEEL POSTCARD 2997) with the title "Beardy's Warriors."



No. 238 Beardy's Warriors (of Northwest Rebellion, Duck Lake, 1885). Duck Lake, N. W. T., Steele & Co., Photo., Winnipeg.

IP048

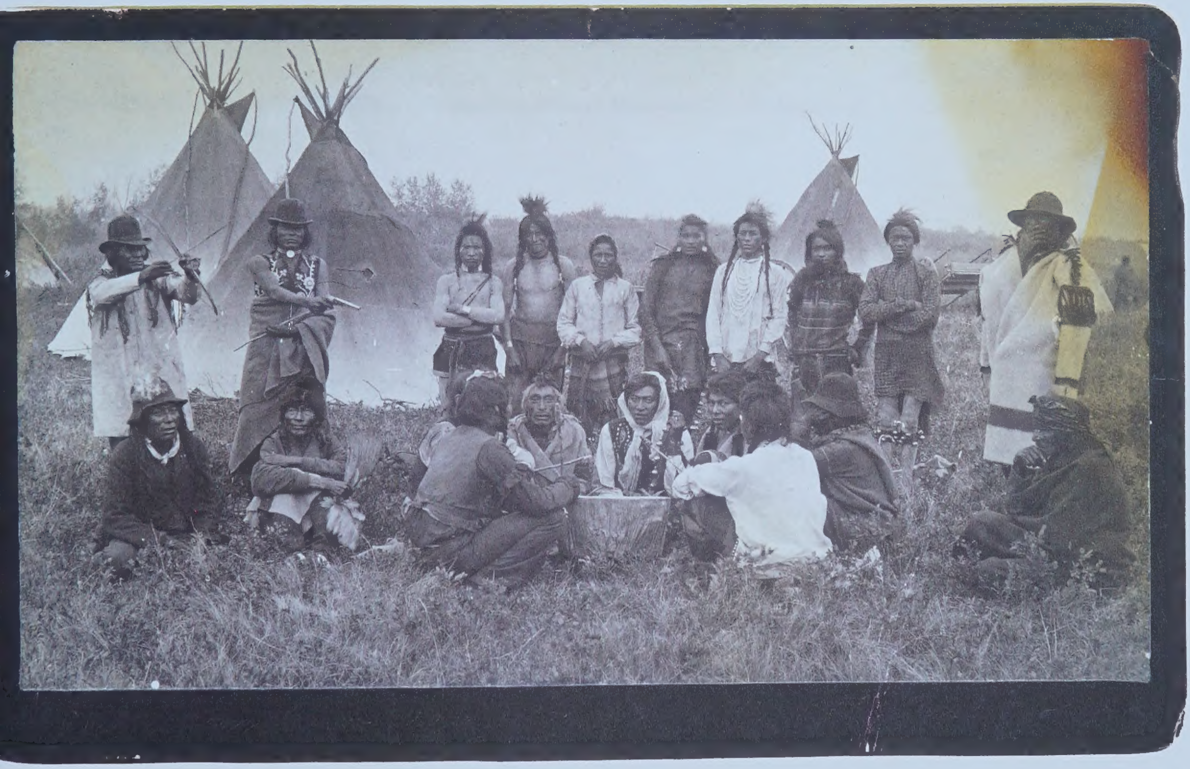
C. S. Co. 2 — BEARDY'S WARRIORS.

PC002997

opposite page

Nakoda Oyadebi Powwow, Moosomin, in present-day Saskatchewan. The photograph is dated June 1889 in handwritten notes on the verso. Frederick Steele. Albumen. 11.4 x 20.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP053

Some poses are clearly staged. In this June 1889 photograph (IP053) from Moosomin (Saskatchewan) of men surrounding drummers, the two men at the far left are awkwardly brandishing weapons. Marvin Littlechild said that the object in the foreground is a water drum and the men are performing a ceremony, *mistikwaski* (water pail). The whip man would make people dance, and he would dance the opposite way, against the sun.[167] The participants are identified as Nakoda Oyadebi, likely from the nearby Carry-the-Kettle First Nation.



IP053

opposite page, above

Indigenous Powwow with drummers and dancers, 1907 Wolseley, Saskatchewan.
Gelatin silver print. 5.7 x 17.3 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP023

opposite page, below

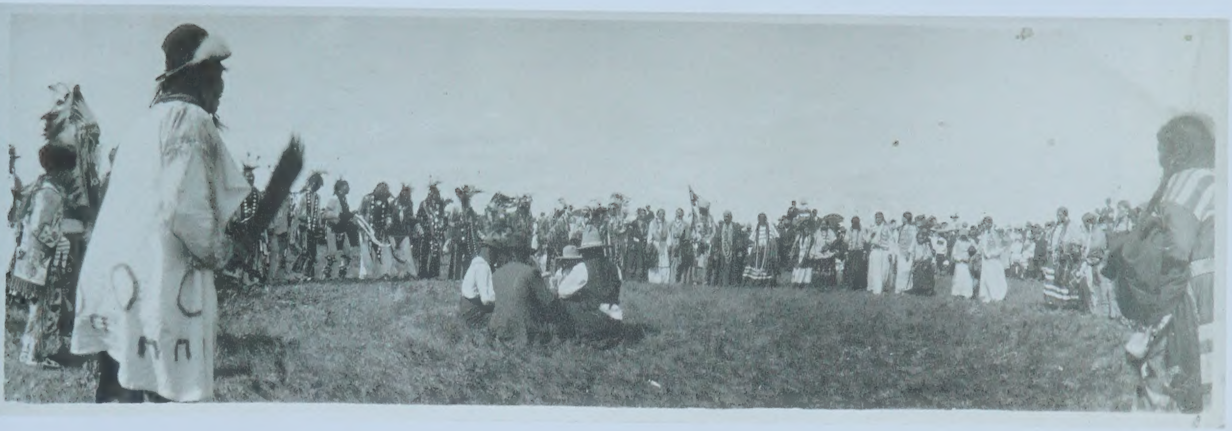
Indigenous Powwow, 1907 Wolseley, Saskatchewan.
Gelatin silver print. 5.9 x 14.4 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP024

Powwows and Performances at Settler Fairs and Festivals

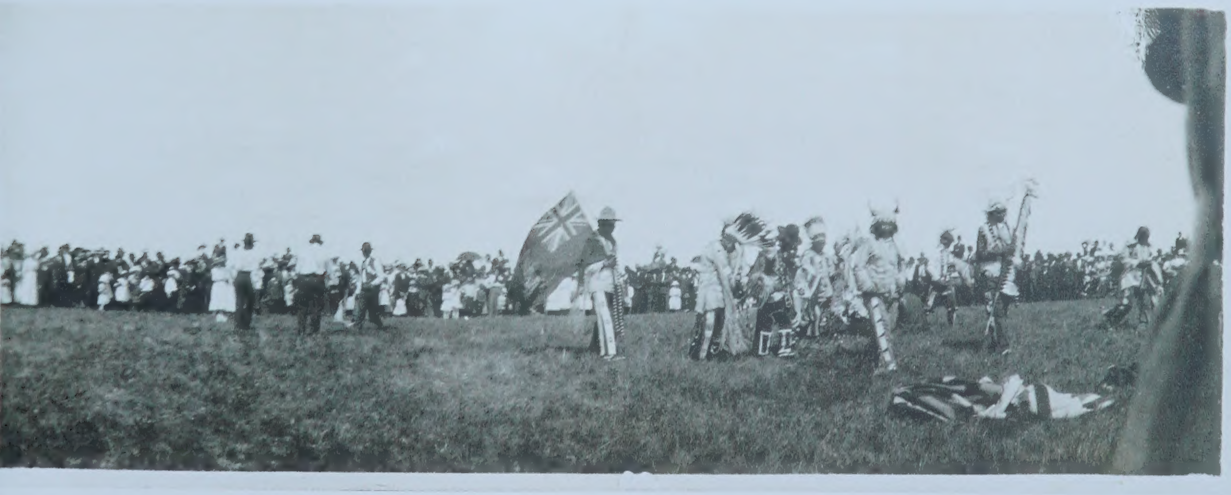
At Powwows, people gathered in song and dance to celebrate Indigenous art, culture, and music. Everyone dressed in their finest traditional outfits. Powwows were occasions for women to display their seamstress and beadwork skills on family members. Some of these were private gatherings, while others were performed for the settler public and were opportunities to showcase and promote awareness of Indigenous culture and heritage.

Settlers were quick to realize and capitalize on the popularity of these performances. To attract visitors to their town, townspeople invited Indigenous people in their regalia to participate at fairs and exhibitions, and such invitations were readily accepted as they meant an escape from the confines of the reserve and a payment, often in the form of provisions that supplemented meagre rations. Department of Indian Affairs officials, however, discouraged this participation, as it meant a loss of control and a diversion from farm work on reserves, and it encouraged "traditional" dress and festivities.[168] A pass system monitored peoples' movements off reserve, and a clause of the Indian Act made it an offence to assist or encourage Indigenous ceremonies or dances where goods were given away or exchanged, but these ceremonies and dances took place nonetheless. (See Tom Snow's comments about IP049, page 148; and IP002, page 153). Under the Indian Act between 1900 and 1904, twenty people were convicted for their involvement in such ceremonies and dances.

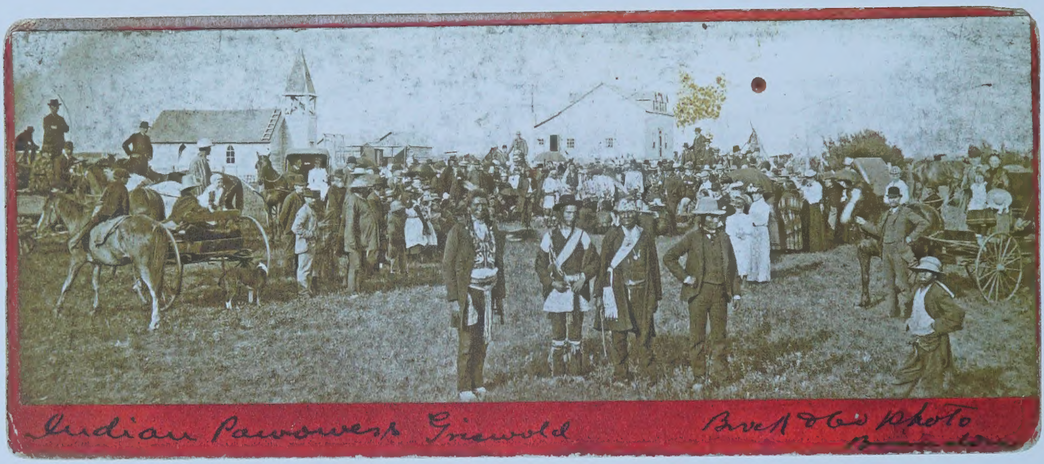
At the top of the facing page is a photograph (IP023) of a Powwow from 1907 Wolseley, Saskatchewan;[169] the women wear beautiful ribbon skirts/dresses that would have been in vivid colours. (See IP110, page 41; IP266, page 53 and page 85; and IP166, page 171 for other photographs of ribbon skirts.) The dresses of Plains women had aesthetic and spiritual functions. They reflect a constantly changing mix of local knowledge and materials, as well as global trade material. The Powwow is likely at an agricultural fair and exhibition. The photograph (IP024) at the bottom of the page is of the same event.[170] It captures the grand entry with the Union Jack and eagle staff.



IP023



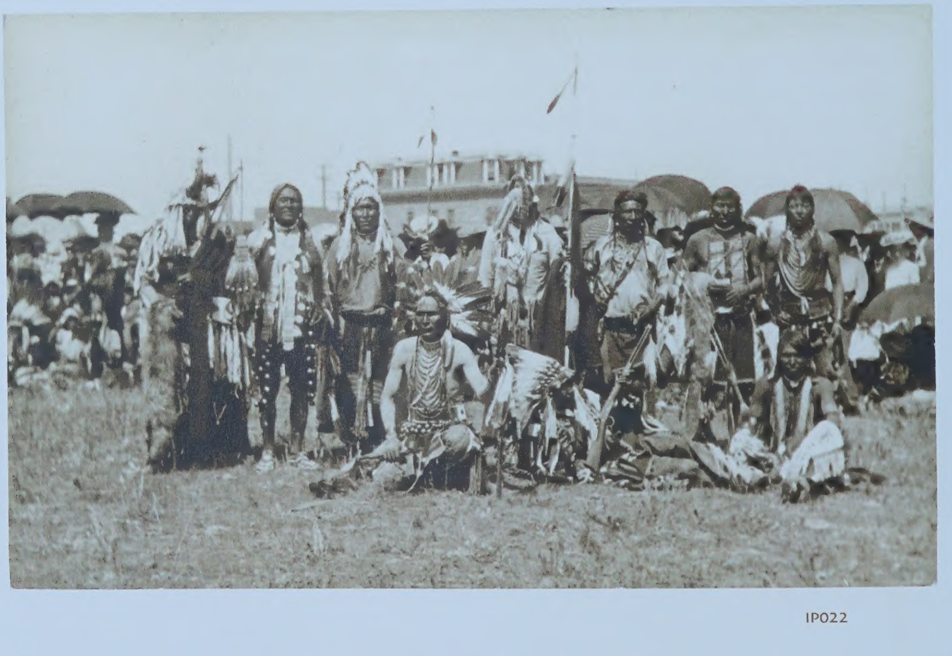
IP024



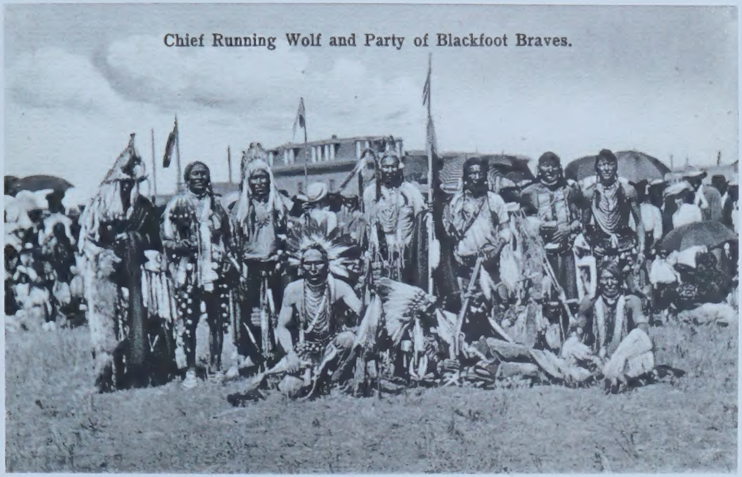
Indian Pawowers Griswold

Buel & Co Photo
Brandon

IP045



IP022


Chief Running Wolf and Party of Blackfoot Braves.

PC009727

This ceremonial start of a Powwow is much the same today. There is a settler audience in the background of both these photographs.

Taken by a Brandon photographer in 1893 at Griswold, Manitoba, the photograph at the top of the facing page is likely of Dakota people at a summer fair (IP045). There are drummers at centre, and Indigenous people mingle with settlers. In 1903 Wanduta, a Manitoba Dakota Elder, was sentenced to four months with hard labour for participating in a dance ceremony.[171]

IP022 and PEEL POSTCARD 9727 show Chief Running Wolf and Niitsitapiisini men at Fort Macleod, 1907. Running Wolf (standing centre) was a leading Piikani chief. This photograph is an invaluable record of Niitsitapiisini male regalia, hairstyles, necklaces, and earrings. The men have likely been invited to an event in Fort Macleod. There are settlers in the background.

IP166 on page 171 shows a picnic at Rolling River, Manitoba, 1905. Rolling River is a Saulteaux First Nation north of Minnedosa. Beginning in 1894, an annual picnic was held on the reserve that brought together settlers and Indigenous people. There were

opposite page, above

Indigenous Powwow in Griswold, Manitoba.
Albumen. 7.8 x 21.0 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP045

opposite page, below

Indigenous men dressed in ceremonial regalia. A similar image was published in 1907 by A.Y. & Co. of Germany as a postcard titled "Chief Running Wolf and Party of Blackfoot Braves"
(postcard PC009727 in Peel's Prairie Provinces database). Gelatin silver print. 12.6 x 20.1 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP022

right

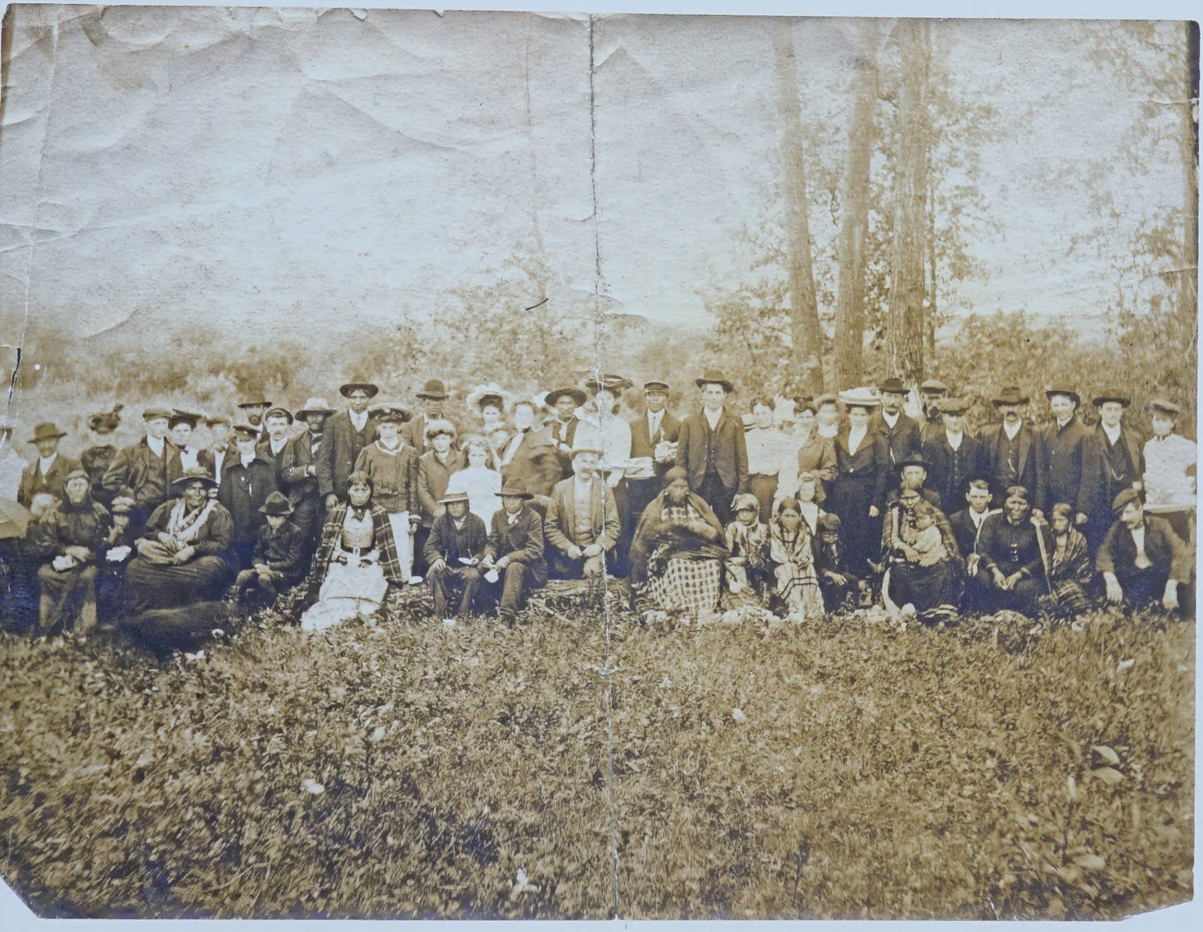
This postcard, printed in Germany and marked "Copyrighted 1907 by A.Y. & Co.," shows Chief Running Wolf and his party at Fort Macleod.
Postcard. 8.8 x 13.7 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC009727

opposite page

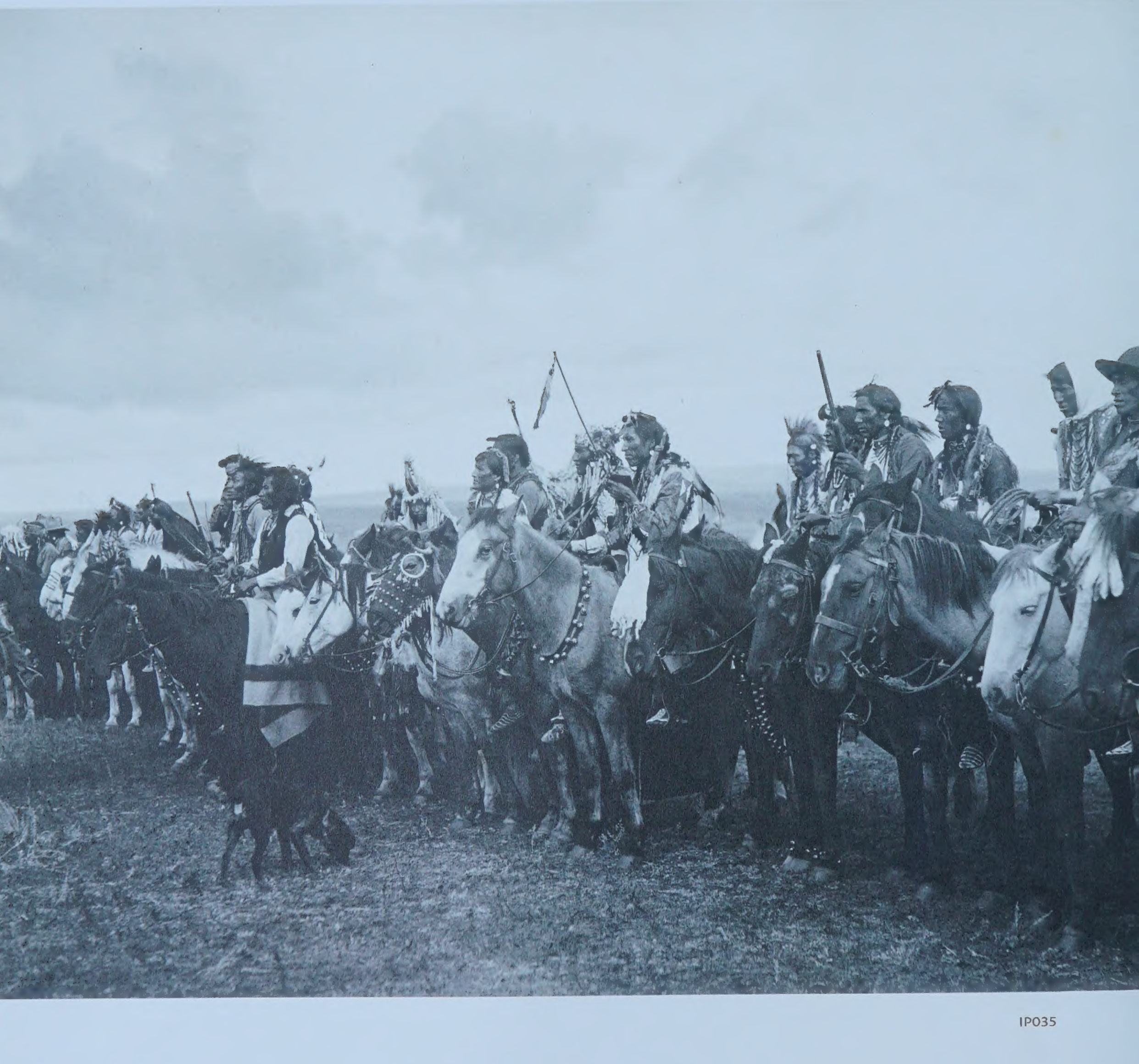
A picnic on the Saulteaux Rolling River First Nation, Manitoba, August, 1905.
Gelatin silver print. 15.2 x 20.2 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP166

a few other Manitoba locations where such gatherings were introduced, but Rolling River was the most successful and longest lasting; it lasted until at least World War I. Rolling River was chosen as a Saulteaux reserve in the late 1870s, under the leadership of South Quill, on land the Saulteaux had cultivated long before Treaty 2. There was an Indian Agricultural Society that organized these picnics along with the chiefs and councillors, missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, Indian affairs agents, and Ladies Aid societies of nearby towns. Entries for the agricultural prizes were open to reserve people only. Prizes were awarded for horses, cattle, roots, grain, poultry, carpentry work, and domestic skills (making loaf bread, biscuits, preserves, quilts, cushions, dresses, shirts, and more). There were also races and games including football, lacrosse, "and other ancient Indian games."[172] Settlers attended from many of the surrounding small towns. The town of Newdale declared the day a civic holiday so that everyone could attend.

In 1899, it was reported of the Rolling River picnic that "the Kodak fiend was everywhere taking snap shots of the picturesque natives, the babies and old men being the favourites."[173] A group photograph was taken that year by the lake where the picnic was held, and perhaps that was an annual initiative. The 1905 group photograph provides yet another image of Indigenous women wearing ribbon skirts.



IP166



IP035

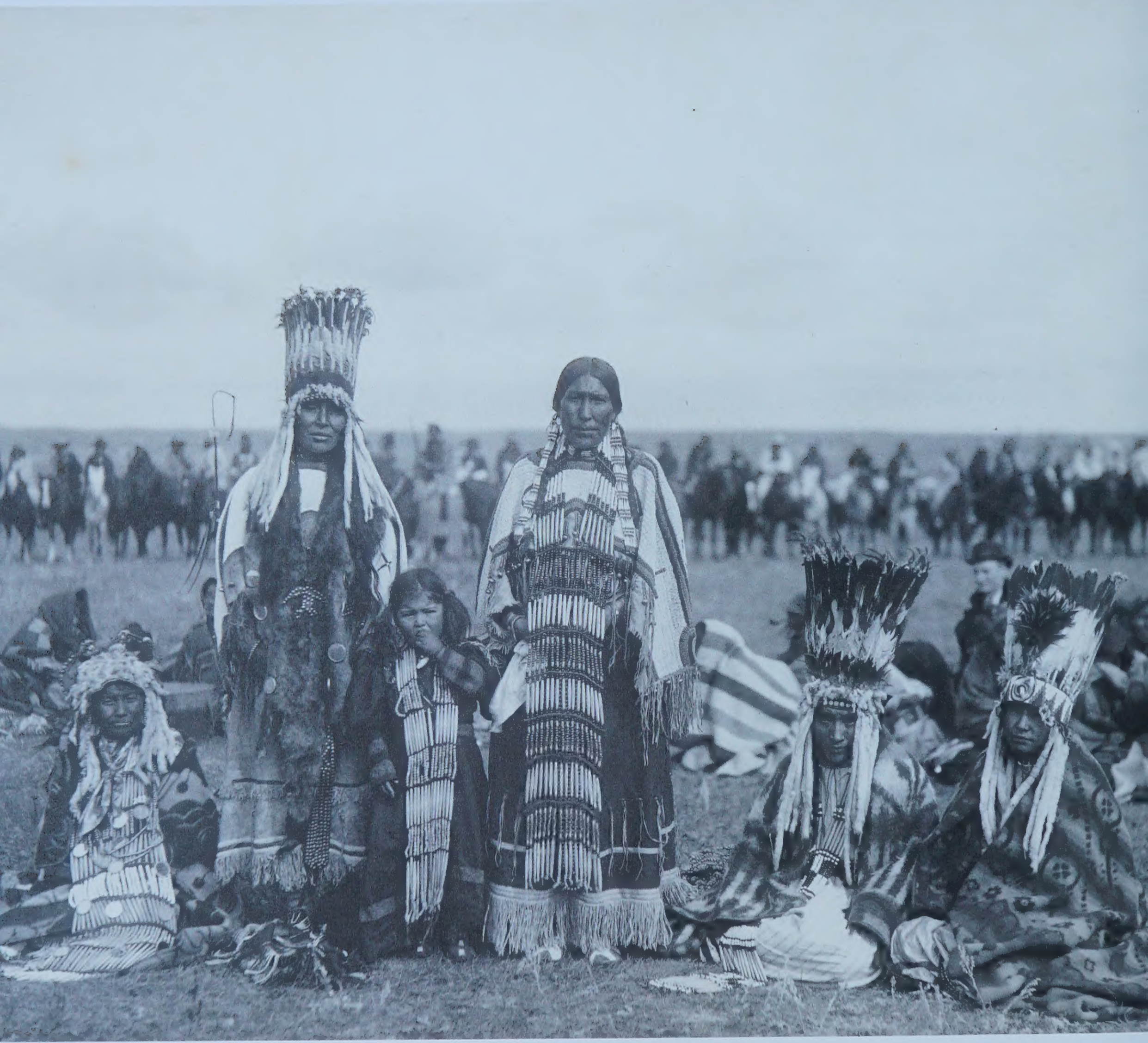
Royal Visit Calgary 1901

The photographs and the postcard in this section document the ceremony held in Calgary in 1901 to honour the visit of George, Duke of Cornwall and York and heir to the throne of Great Britain. It was a carefully staged and controlled gathering of Treaty 7 people arranged by the Department of Indian Affairs, with the assistance of the North-West Mounted Police. As with previous visits of relatives or representatives of the British monarch, however, the occasion was used by First Nations to convey that they were not happy with their treaty partner the Crown and Queen Victoria. When the chiefs met individually with the Duke, they conveyed their dissatisfaction that settlers continued to encroach upon their land and resources. According to Niitsitapiisini Elder Ben Calf Robe, one chief "stood right in front of the Duke and pointed at him and shouted loud: 'You! When will your promises come true?'"[174] Other aspects of the event were beyond the control of the settler organizers, who would have known little of the symbolism behind the attire, hairstyles, and other features of the Indigenous participants. Of IP035, Calf Robe said that the young men were dressed for war, with paint, medicines, and weapons, ready for battle.[175]

Allan Wolfleg related other stories associated with aspects of this photograph. He stated that as a "depositor" for traditional knowledge, he has learned to look beyond the picture; otherwise one could lose the whole story. He saw in the photograph a man wearing the one-horn headdress, and it reminded him of the fact that the one-horn headdress was passed or had its last transfer to Dave Storm.[176]

opposite page

Mounted Niitsitapiisini people at Shaganappi Point, in present-day Calgary, during the 1901 "Royal Tour" of Canada.
Topley Studio. Gelatin silver print. 18.3 x 24.6 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 158 164 IP035



IP036

The Duke would not have understood the significance of these women and their apparel (IP036). The woman seated on the left wears a split-horn (likely buffalo) headdress, and the headdress cap is covered with white ermine skins. This type of headdress is associated with Motokiks or Women's Society of the Niitsitapiisini (Kainai and Siksika).[177] Headdresses are bundles, or transferred objects of spiritual significance. The Motokiks held ceremonies linked with the calling of the buffalo and prayers for successful hunts and, thus, brought prosperity to their people. These ceremonies became part of Okan, the Sun Dance. The Motokiks build their own lodge in the Okan circle with upright travois forming the basic frame. They were, and are, powerful women who start the camp for the Okan, as the society is still in existence today.[178]

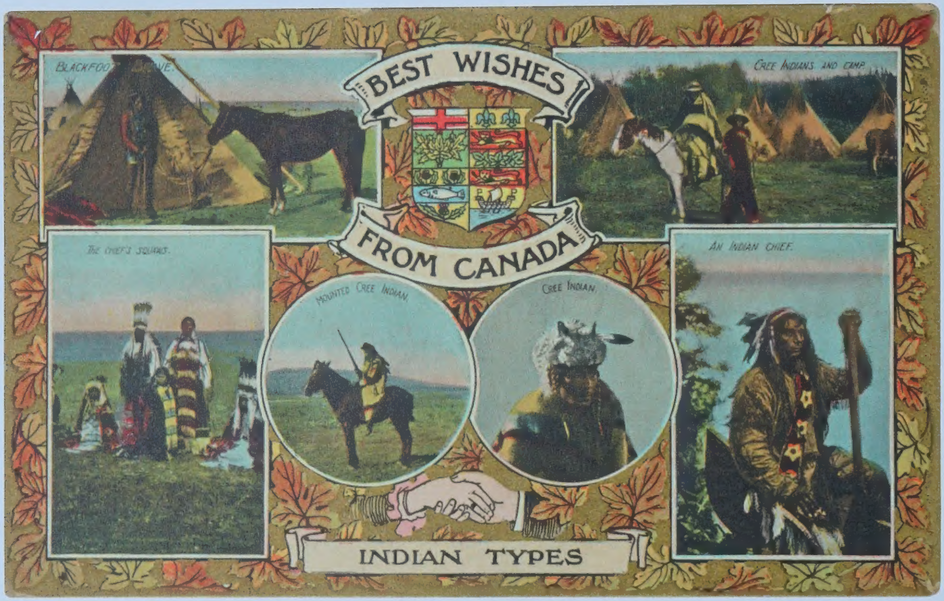
The woman seated on the left also wears a long hair pipe necklace, as do others in this photograph. These necklaces were made of bone and sometimes wood and were commercially made in the east for the western trade. There are either mirrored discs or abalone shells sewn onto the woman's necklace.

The woman second from the left has been identified as Stealing Woman.[179] She wears a straight-up headdress that is a distinctively Niitsitapiisini style. The feathers are probably golden eagle with the feather shafts wrapped in what look like porcupine quills. The headdress has ermine pendants. The headband is probably of red flannel or stroud with brass buttons. The straight-up headdress was originally worn by men belonging to the Bulls Society, but they were no longer able to function after a small-pox epidemic (of either 1837 or 1869–70), and the headdresses were transferred to members of the Motokiks and sacred Horn Society for men. Stealing Woman too may be a member of the Motokiks. There are four styles of Motokiks headdresses. She also wears what looks like a Thunderbird pendant, and her dress has an elaborately beaded yoke. The women seated to the right also wear straight-up headdresses and are likely Motokiks Society members.

opposite page

Niitsitapiisini people at Shaganappi Point, in present-day Calgary, during the 1901 "Royal Tour" of Canada. (A similar image was hand-coloured and published by Valentine & Sons as one of several images on postcard PC017894 in the Peel's Prairie Provinces database.)

Topley Studio. Gelatin silver print. 18.8 x 24.4 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP036


BLACKFOO VE.
BEST WISHES
CREE INDIANS AND CAMP
FROM CANADA
THE CHIEF'S SQUAWS.
MOUNTED CREE INDIAN
CREE INDIAN
AN INDIAN CHIEF.
INDIAN TYPES

PC017894

above

Hand-coloured versions of several photographs appear on this "souvenir postcard" published by Valentine & Sons of Montreal and Toronto and printed in Great Britain. This particular postcard was addressed to Catherine Boeur in Belgium by Josephine and Frank Bishop in Vancouver, but it lacks a stamp.
Postcard. 8.8 x 13.9 cm.
Prairie Postcard Collection,
Bruce Peel Special Collections
PC017894

In viewing photograph IP036, Mike Meguinis confirmed that women wore feather headdresses like that.[180] Others commented on the magnificence and beauty in both of these photographs, including the apparel and hairstyles for this ceremony.

Appearing at the bottom left of Peel postcard 17894 of "Indian Types," an image similar to the one in IP036 has been trimmed and tinted and had the people in the background removed. The image "Cree Indian" is also in this collection, having been cropped from IP091 (page 142), and "Blackfoot Brave" is a version of IP089 (page 95).

Calgary Stampede and the "Indian Village" 1912

The photograph (IP012) on the following page is the 1912 "Indian Village" on the fairgrounds of the first Calgary Stampede. The village became a fixture of the Stampede. (As of 2018, it became and is now known as "Indigenous Space Elbow River Camp.") In 1912, officials of the Department of Indian Affairs discouraged participation of Indigenous people in the Calgary Stampede, but through intensive political pressure (from the Governor General, a Senator, and a Member of Parliament), Department officials were unhappily overruled. Treaty 7 people flocked to the event in 1912, taking part in the parade and grandstand performances and putting on a spectacular show.[181] They also had an outstanding rodeo contestant that year, Kainai cowboy Tom Three Persons.

On page 179 is a carefully posed photograph (IP013) taken at the Calgary Stampede "Indian Village" where the tipis were located next to a replica of a Hudson's Bay Company fort and a whiskey fort. Likely the building in this photograph is one of these replicas.

According to Siksika Elder Ben Calf Robe, who was at the 1912 Stampede and many thereafter, "...this is the way we show other People how we live. We are proud of our culture. I have made a lot of good friends from all over the world... It was an honor for the Indian People to be invited to take part, in the first place. It has encouraged some of our People to keep up their customs when they might have lost them, otherwise."[182]

following double-page spread, left

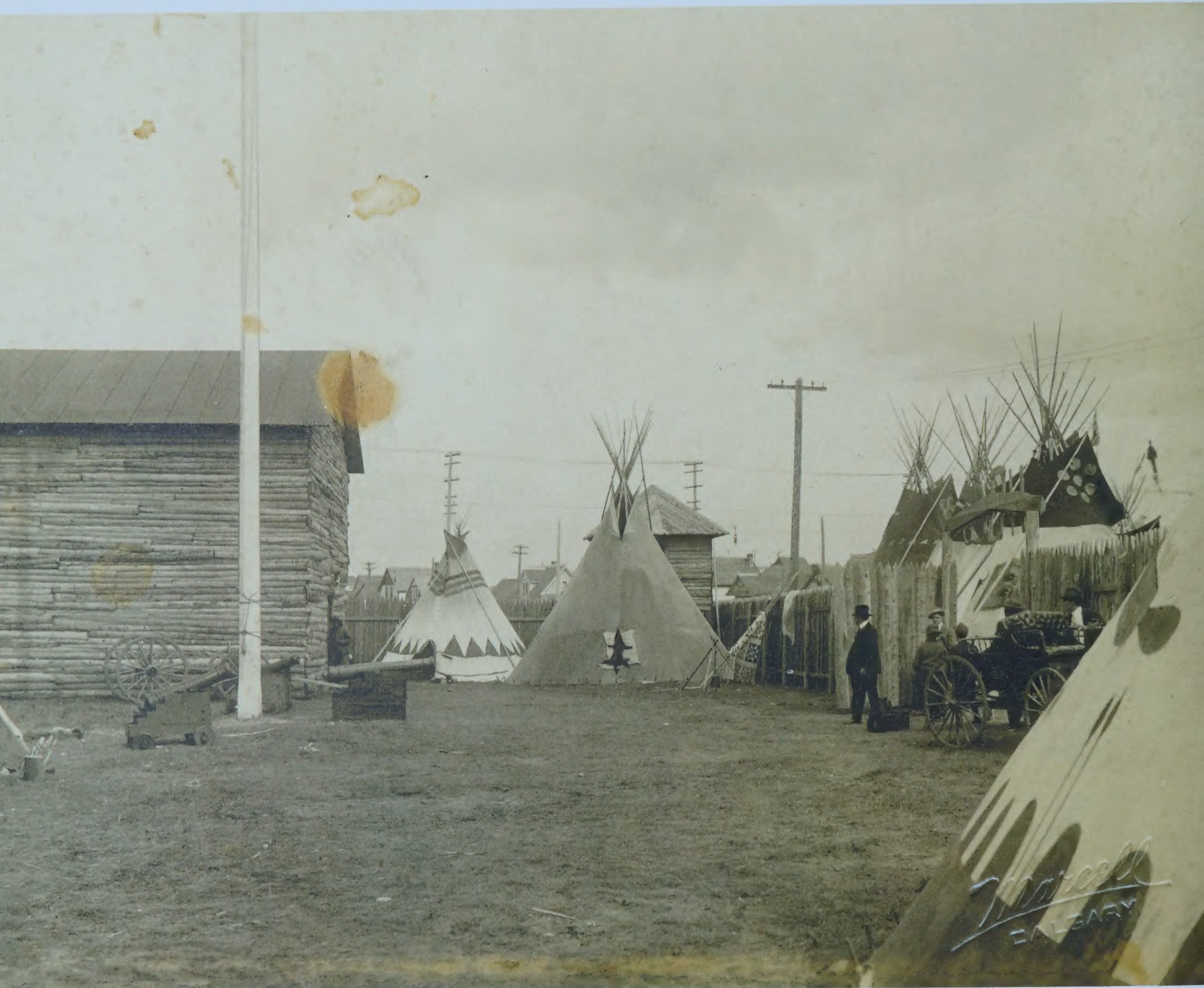
Visitors at "Indian Village," Calgary Stampede.

Marcell. Gelatin silver print. 14.0 x 19.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP012

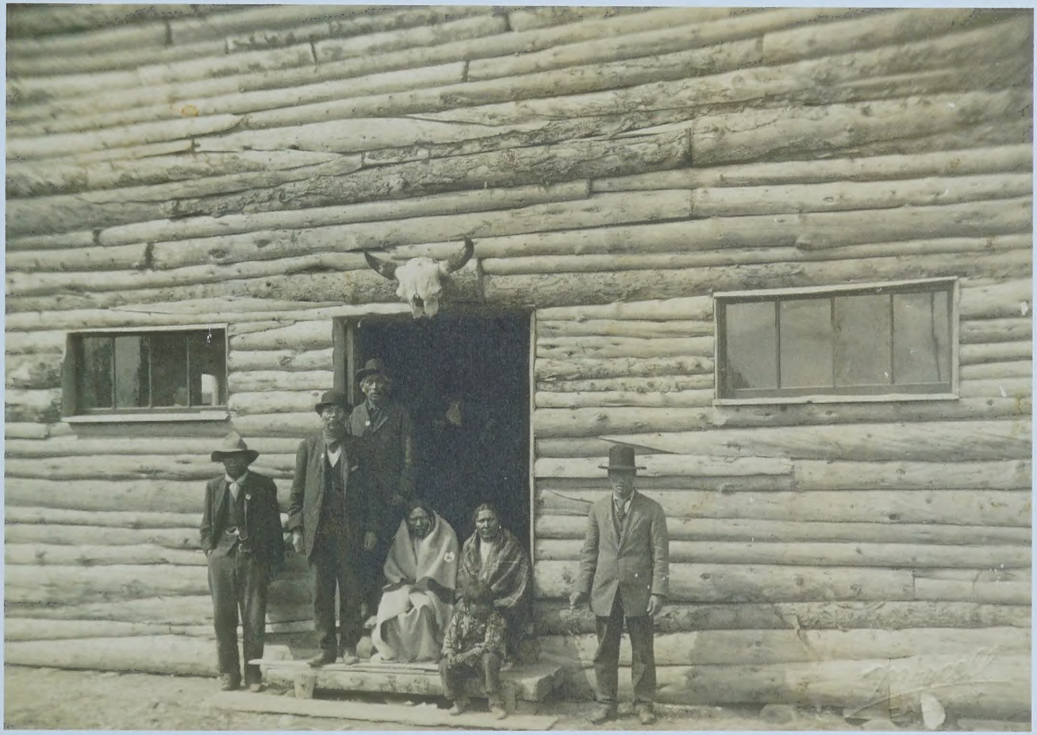
following double-page spread, right

Posed group photo at Calgary Stampede.

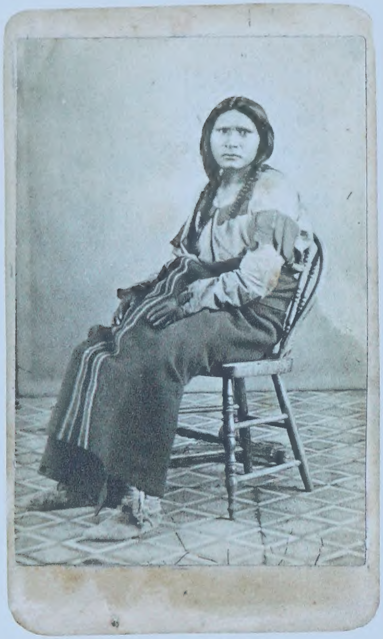
Marcell. Gelatin silver print. 14.0 x 19.8 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP013


Marcell
CALGARY

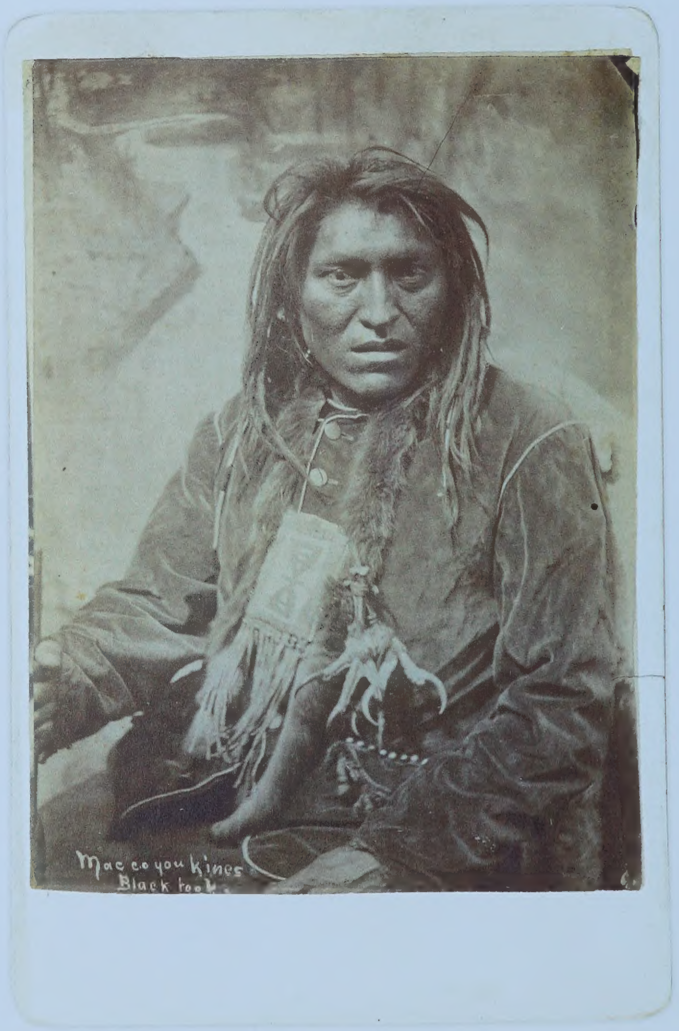
IP012



IP013



IP248


Mac co you kines
Black foot

IP254

ancestors

conclusion

THERE ARE MANY MORE PHOTOGRAPHS IN THIS COLLECTION, and there is much more to be learned from and observed about the ancestors pictured in these photographs. The stories of many have yet to be uncovered. For example, who is the woman (IP248) on the facing page at the left? Who are these Niitsitapiisini people (IP250, page 182) and these Piikani people (IP252, page 183)? These three photographs were acquired in a cluster of photographs taken by Calgary photographer G.A. Hanes and Co., likely in the 1890s. The man (IP254) on the facing page at the right is from the same set of photographs and is identified as "'Maccoyoukines' Subchief of the Blackfeet."

The final photograph (IP178, page 184) is of a scene from what is now Edmonton, taken circa 1897, on the site where the Canadian National Railway depot and other buildings were soon to be built, forever altering the landscape. The photograph of a tipi encampment captures elements of a way of life that had prevailed on the prairies and parkland for centuries, but was on the brink of irrevocable change, and it reminds us of the rapid transition that has taken place over the last 120 years.

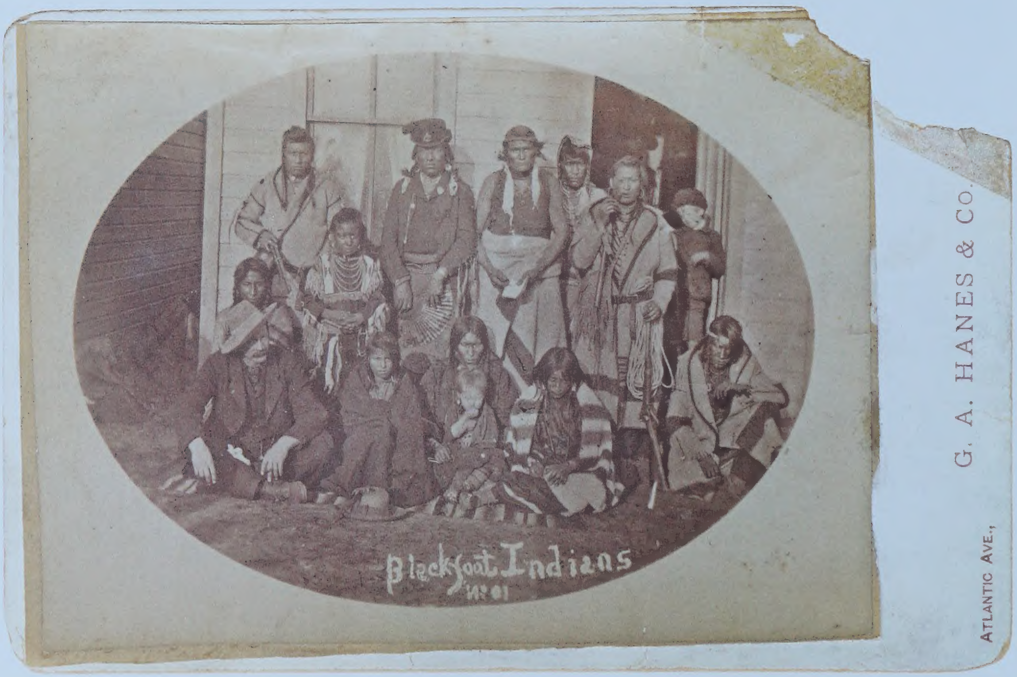
We hope that this exhibition will help to generate conversations about and studies of these photographs that honour the continued presence, wisdom, and strength of the ancestors. We also hope that the process of identifying the people in these photographs, only begun here, will continue.

opposite page, left

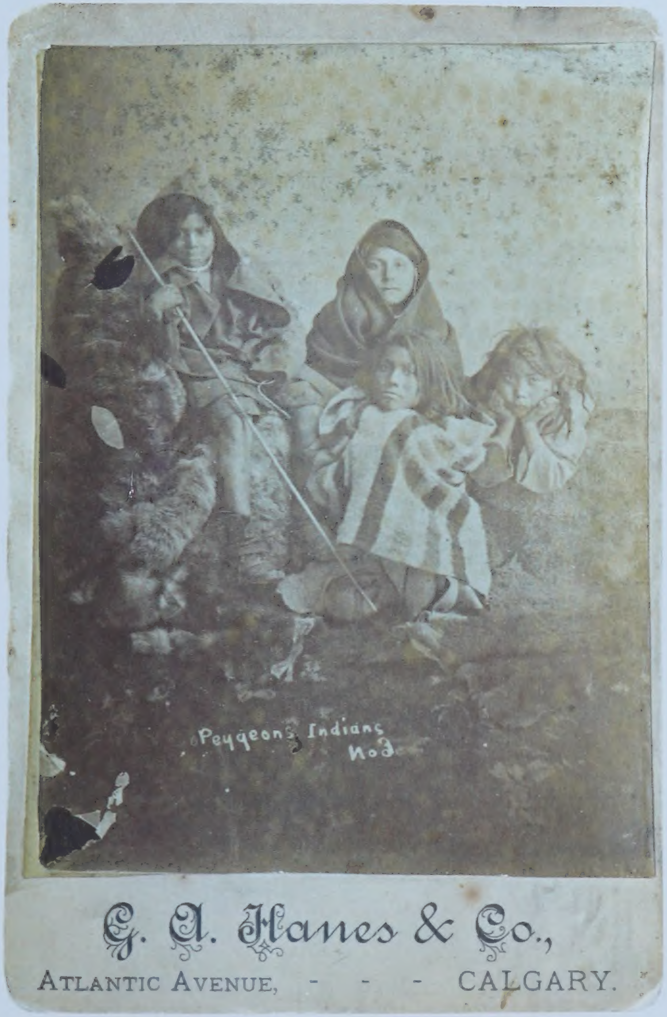
Carte de visite: studio portrait of an Indigenous woman sitting on a chair.
Albumen. 5.8 x 8.7 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP248

opposite page, right

Studio portrait of Chief Maccoyoukines, Niitsitapiisini, as identified in a handwritten note on verso.
G.A. Hanes & Co. Albumen. 16.5 x 10.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP254


Blackfoot Indians
No 01
G. A. HANES & Co.
ATLANTIC AVE.,

IP250



IP252

opposite page

Group of Niitsitapiisini people.
G.A. Hanes & Co. Albumen. 16.5 x 10.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP250

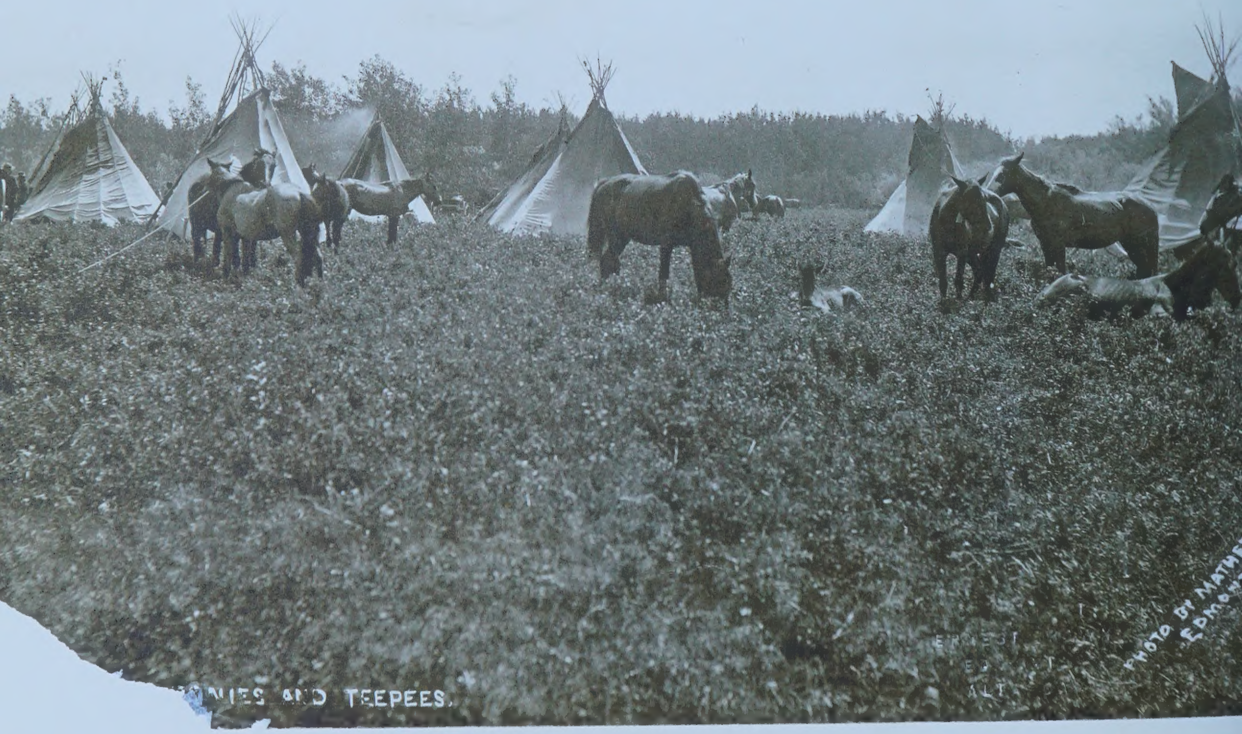
left

Studio portrait of a group of Piikani youths.
G.A. Hanes & Co. Albumen. 16.5 x 10.5 cm.
Prairie Roots Collection, supported by the Prairie Roots Endowment Fund (gift of Ralph and Gay Young), Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP252

following double-page spread, left

Ponies and tipis. Handwriting on verso indicates that the photo was taken "about 1897." The photo is blind stamped with the name Ernest Brown, possibly indicating that it was part of the inventory of photographs that Brown acquired when he bought out C.W. Mathers in 1904.
C.W. Mathers. Gelatin silver print. 17.3 x 23.6 cm.
Bruce Peel Special Collections
TR 681 I58 I64 IP178

47


NIES AND TEEPEES.
ERNEST
ED
ALT
PHOTO BY MATHE
EDMON

IP178

endnotes

Acknowledgements

1. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow in conversation with Inez Lightning and Sarah Carter, 16 July 2018. Also, Josephine Buffalo in conversation with Inez Lightning, 9 October 2019.
2. Allan Wolfleg in conversation with Inez Lightning, 20 Sept 2019.
3. Allan Wolfleg in conversation with Inez Lightning, 22 Sept 2018.
4. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow, 16 July 2018.

Ancestors: Indigenous Peoples of Western Canada in Historic Photographs

1. Beatrice Morin in conversation with Inez Lightning, 27 Sept. 2018.
2. Marvin Littlechild and Josephine Buffalo in conversation with Inez Lightning and Sarah Carter, 16 July 2018.
3. Allan Wolfleg in conversation with Inez Lightning, 22 Sept. 2018. Allan Wolfleg letter to Inez Lightning,13 July 2018.
4. Paige Raibmon, “Posing the Past,” *Nanitch: Early Photographs of British Columbia from the Langmann Collection* (Presentation House Gallery and UBC, 2016) 52. See also Walter Hildebrandt, “Aesthetics and History: Image-makers and Aboriginal People” *NeWest Review* (April/May 1991): 10-14; John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC and Penguin Books, 1972).
5. See for example James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997). Signifiers of difference include such tropes as the overburdened Indigenous woman carrying wood and walking behind her husband who is on horseback.
6. Ryan 224.
7. Raibmon 50.
8. Heather Caverhill, “Masquerade and Modernity in the Cypress Hills: Performing Prairie Photography in the Late 1870s,” MA thesis, U of Alberta, 2014, 2.
9. Beatrice Morin, 27 Sept. 2018.
10. Josephine Buffalo, 9 Oct. 2018.
11. Marvin Littlechild and Josephine Buffalo, 16 July 2018.
12. Carol J. Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 2003) 138–169.
13. Ramona Lowhorn in conversation with Inez Lightning, 22 Sept. 2018.
14. Thanks to Susan Berry, Curator Emeritus Indigenous Studies, Royal Alberta Museum for identifying the breastplate of serpent side plates from trade muskets.
15. Steven L. Grafe, *Lanterns on the Prairie: The Blackfeet Photographs of Walter McClintock* (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2005).
16. For an overview see Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1999).
17. For a discussion of how the visual archive can be drawn on to counter documentary, colonial history, see Jane Lydon, “Democratising the Photographic Archive,” *Sources and Methods in Histories of Colonialism: Approaching the Imperial Archive*, ed. Kirsty Reid and Fiona Paisley, (London: Routledge, 2017) 17.
18. Williams 4.
19. Rosalyn LaPier, *Invisible Reality: Storytellers, Storytakers, and the Supernatural World of the Blackfeet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017) 38.
20. Allan Wolfleg in conversation with Inez Lightning, 20 Sept. 2019.
21. LaPier 38.
22. Allan Wolfleg, 20 Sept. 2019.
23. Mike (Thomas) Meguinis in conversation with Inez Lightning, 22 Sept. 2018.
24. Tom Snow in conversation with Inez Lightning and Sarah Carter, 13 Sept. 2018.
25. See for example Matt Dyce and James Opp, “Visualizing Space, Race and History in the North: Photographic Narratives of the Athabasca-Mackenzie River Basin, *The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region*, ed. Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter, and Peter Fortna (Edmonton: Athabasca UP, 2010) 65–93.
26. Williams 26–7.
27. Lydon 27–28.
28. Alison K. Brown and Laura L. Peers. *'Pictures Bring Us Messages' / Sinaakssiiksi Aohtsimaahpihkookiyaawa: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2006).
29. Paul Seesequasis, “Turning the Lens: Indigenous Archival Photo Project,” *Shekon Neechie: An Indigenous History Site* https://shekonneechie.ca/2018/06/21/turning-the-lens/
30. Paul Seesequasis.
31. Viscount Milton and W.B. Cheadle, *An Expedition across the Rocky Mountains into British Columbia by the Yellow Head or Leather Pass* (London: Peter and Galpin Belle Sauvage Works [1864?]); and Milton and Cheadle, *The Northwest Passage by Land: Being the Narrative of an Expedition from*

the Atlantic to the Pacific (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1865).

32. Doug Johnson, "Royal Alberta Museum serves up history with plate exhibit," *Edmonton Examiner* 31 July 2013: https://www.edmontonexaminer.com/2013/07/31/royal-alberta-museum-serves-up-history-with-plate-exhibit/wcm/d49f26e9-f2c5-f3cb-2755-588d485f0922

33. Milton and Cheadle, *Northwest Passage by Land* 177.

34. Library Archives Canada, North-West Territories Metis scrip applications R190-44-1-E, claim 824 and 819.

35. Milton and Cheadle, *Northwest Passage by Land* 176.

36. Milton and Cheadle, *Northwest Passage by Land* 223.

37. Milton and Cheadle, *Expedition across the Rocky Mountains* 20.

38. Milton and Cheadle, *Expedition across the Rocky Mountains* 263.

39. Michael Shaw Bond, *Way Out West: On the Trail of an Errant Ancestor* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2001) 140.

40. Milton and Cheadle, postscript, n.pag.

41. Fort Edmonton Park blog, "Edmontonians in the Spotlight: James Keith Simpson Part II," 29 April 2015, https://www.fortedmontonpark.ca/1846-fort/edmontonians-spotlight-james-keith-simpson-pt-2/

42. Robert W. Hendriks, *William Bleasdell Cameron: A Life of Writing and Adventure* (Edmonton: Athabasca U, 2008) 45.

43. Sarah Carter, Introduction, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear* by Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock (1885 rpt., Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1999) xxi–xxii.

44. Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau, *Return to an Address of the House of Commons* (Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, 1886) 203–5.

45. Bond 225.

46. William MacDougall, *Correspondence and Papers Connected with Recent Occurrences in the North-West Territories* (Ottawa: L.B. Taylor, 1870) 124.

47. *Nor'Wester* 25 May 1868.

48. *Nor'Wester* 25 May 1868.

49. *The Graphic* 7 Nov. 1874: 457.

50. *The Graphic* 7 Nov. 1874: 457.

51. "Manitoba and the Great North-West," The Times (London) 10 September 1874: 5. The same image of Little Fox, seated and smoking a pipe, was reproduced in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* (New York) 6.4, Oct. 1878: 477.

52. Manitoba Historical Society, "Manitoba Photographers: Hall and Low" n.d. (revised 24 May 2014) http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/photographers/halllowe.shtml

53. Manitoba Historical Society.

54. Katherine Pettipas, "Hall and Lowe Cabinet Cards," *Manitoba History* (Winter 2014): 53.

55. Randy Turner, "Across the Sands of Time," *Winnipeg Free Press* 14 July 2016. Turner reviews "The Spirit of Red River," an Archives & Special Collections exhibit at the University of Manitoba, 2016.

56. Beatrice Morin, 27 Sept. 2018.

57. Beatrice Morin, 27 Sept. 2018.

58. Williams 12.

59. Katherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe: Black Robe Voyageur* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1920) 187.

60. *Le Métis* 26 June 1972: 2.

61. Quoted in Hugh A. Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom*. (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1984) 44.

62. Dempsey 77.

63. Amelia Paget, *The People of the Plains* (Toronto: Ryerson P, 1909) 121–2.

64. Susan Berry email to Sarah Carter, 17 July 2020.

65. There is some evidence that waspisonahtikwak and tiknaaganan may help prevent Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS). It is noted in the "Healthy Native Babies Project Workbook and Toolkit " Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Health and Human Development, National Institute of Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human services, Healthy Native Babies Project workgroup, June 2010, that "using cradleboards is a good way to keep babies safe" and protect them from SIDS. According to the "Healthy Babies Sleep Safely," Epidemiology Center, Maternal and Child Health Program Inter Tribal council of Arizona, Inc., "Cradle boards may help reduce the risk of SIDS by keeping your baby on his or her back."

66. Susan Berry, 17 July 2020.

67. Beatrice Morin in conversation with Inez Lightning, 27 Sept. 2018.

68. Josephine Buffalo in conversation with Inez Lightning, 3 Nov. 2018.

69. Susan Berry, 17 July 2020.

70. Katherine Pettipas, "Hall & Lowe Cabinet Cards," *Manitoba History* 74 (Winter 2014): 52–3.

71. Alexandra Kahsenni:io Nahwegahbow, "From Great-Grandmothers to Great-Granddaughters: 'Moving Life' in Baby Carriers and Birchbark Baskets." *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review*, 42.2 (2017): 101and 106.

72. Catherine Oberholtzer, "A Womb with a View: Cree Moss Bags and Cradleboards," in David H. Pentland, ed., *Papers of the Twenty-Eight Algonquian Conference*, v. 28 (Winnipeg: U of Manitoba P, 1997): 269.

73. Oberholtzer 271.

74. Christopher Cox, Carleton University, email to Sarah Carter, 15 Oct. 2018.

75. Beatrice Morin, 27 Sept. 2018.

76. Beatrice Morin, 27 Sept. 2018.

77. Josephine Buffalo, 3 Nov. 2018.

78. Marvin Littlechild and Josephine Buffalo, 16 July 2018.

79. Helene Samson and Suzanne Sauvage, *Notman: A Visionary Photographer* (McCord Museum. Distributed by Yale UP, 2016).

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103. Allan Wolfleg, 22 Sept. 2018.

104. Allan Wolfleg, 22 Sept. 2018.

105. There are a number of prominent Niitsitapiisini men who have been recorded with the name Weasel Tail.

106. Ramona Lowhorn, 22 Sept. 2018.

107. Allan Wolfleg, 22 Sept. 2018.

108. Thanks to Susan Berry, Curator Emeritus Indigenous Studies, Royal Alberta Museum.

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112. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow, 16 July 2018.

113. Rick Lightning, 24 Sept. 2018.

114. Thanks to Susan Berry, Curator Emeritus Indigenous Studies, Royal Alberta Museum, for the information on these breastplates.

115. Allan Wolfleg, 20 Sept. 2019.

116. Sherry Farrell Racette email to Sarah Carter, 17 July 2018.

117. Tom Snow, 13 Sept. 2018.

118. Ramona Lowhorn, 22 Sept. 2018.

119. Allan Wolfleg, 22 Sept. 2018.

120. Tom Snow, 13 Sept. 2018.

121. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow, 16 July 2018.

122. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow, 16 July 2018; Josephine Buffalo in conversation with Inez Lightning, 9 Oct. 2018.

123. Bill Snow in conversation with Inez Lightning and Sarah Carter, 19 May 2017.

124. Mike (Thomas) Meguinis, 22 Sept. 2018.

125. Ramona Lowhorn, 22 Sept. 2018.
126. Allan Wolfleg, 22 Sept. 2018.
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136. Mike (Thomas) Meguinis, 22 Sept. 2018.
137. Allan Wolfleg, 22 Sept. 2018.
138. McClintock 220.
139. Mike (Thomas) Meguinis, 22 Sept. 2018.
140. Allan Wolfleg, 22 Sept. 2018.
141. Mrs Rose Ayoungman, 1969, interviewed by Fran Fraser, Fran Fraser's Blackfoot Culture Collection, Glenbow Archives. Transcript of RBT 24–4.
142. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow, 16 July 2018.
143. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow, 16 July 2018.
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145. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow, 16 July 2018.
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148. Tom Snow, 13 Sept. 2018.
149. Rick Lightning, 24 Sept. 2018.
150. Tom Snow, 13 Sept. 2018.
151. Jacob Lightning in conversation with Inez Lightning, 22 Sept. 2018.
152. Marvin Littlechild, Josephine Buffalo, and Tom Snow, 16 July 2018.
153. Tom Snow, 13 Sept. 2018.
154. Rick Lightning, 24 Sept. 2018.
155. Tom Snow, 13 Sept. 2018.
156. Beatrice Morin, 27 Sept. 2018.
157. Mike (Thomas) Meguinis, 22 Sept. 2018.
158. Mike (Thomas) Meguinis, 22 Sept. 2018.
159. Tom Snow, 13 Sept. 2018.
160. Mike (Thomas) Meguinis, 22 Sept. 2018.
161. Mike (Thomas) Meguinis, 22 Sept. 2018.
162. Nehiyawak Elder Stan Cuthand identified this photograph as Grass Dancers in his article "Beardy (Kamiscowesit)" *Saskatchewan Indian* June 1990: 17.
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177. Most of the description in this section is thanks to Susan Berry, Curator Emeritus Indigenous Studies, Royal Alberta Museum, from an email of 26 November 2018.
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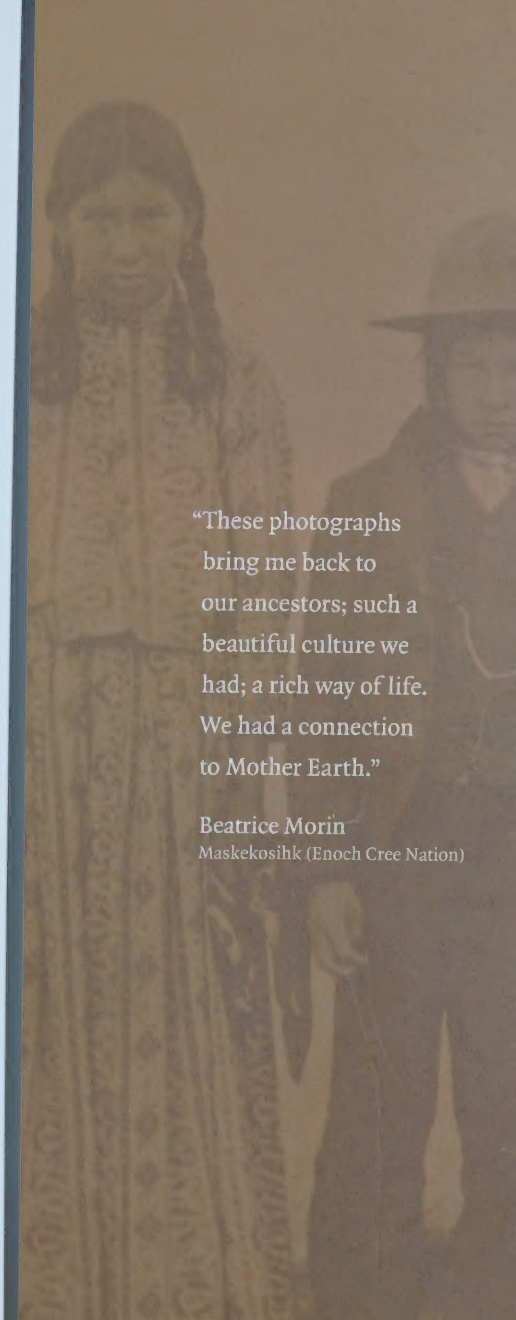

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beautiful culture we
had; a rich way of life.
We had a connection
to Mother Earth.”

Beatrice Morin
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